

The Title of the Thesis:

THE EPIC IN HINDI LITERATURE.

H. C. Roy.
H.C. Roy.

ProQuest Number: 10731187

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731187

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

C O N T E N T S .

	<u>Pages.</u>
<u>Preface.</u>	(1) -(2)
<u>Abbreviations.</u>	(3)
I. Introduction.	1-21.
II. The Bardic Age: <u>Prithirāj-Rāso.</u>	22-72.
III. The Sūfī Age: <u>Padumāvati.</u>	73-104.
IV. The Rāmīte Age: <u>Rām-Carit-Mānas.</u>	105-143.
V. The Rīti-Era: <u>Rām-Candrikā.</u>	144-184.
VI. The Modern Period:	
(1) <u>Priya-Pravās.</u>) } 185-279.
(2) <u>Sāketa.</u>	
(3) <u>Kāmāyanī.</u>	
VII Conclusion.	279-282.
Bibliography.	283-286.

P R E F A C E.

This thesis has been arranged on the principle that the selection for detailed treatment of representative specimens of the epic is likely to present the nature and history of its growth in the soundest manner. Seven well-known epics have been chosen typical of periods, for an epic is related to the spirit of its age, and of dialects, for an art has its "Growth from " as well as its "Growth to".

Rāso as a specimen represents the Rājasthānī dialect and at the same time bardic poetry; Padumāvati the Sūfī romantic element; Rām-Carit-Mānas the devotional sentiments of the loftiest soul of all; Rām-Cāndrikā, the poetry of form and rhetoric from the Rīti-era. The remaining three represent modern tendencies that have shown themselves in Indian thought for a century past, and have been given a place in epic literature in the first half of the 20th century. It is remarkable that while no other language in India has so far produced an epic this century, Hindi has reason to be proud of no less than three, Priyapravās, Sāketa, and Kāmāyanī. These represent in that order realistic, romantic and symbolic tendencies.

Into my account of these and other works I have put much careful investigation based on wide reading, and on criteria that have been used by literary critics elsewhere

and have been duly acknowledged here. I have expressed my own opinion on the merits and demerits of the works chosen and on their place and importance in Hindi literature.

In the course of my studies I have benefitted from suggestions made by Dr.L.D. Barnett,M.A.,D.Litt.(London), Mr. A. Master,C.I.E.,M.A., and Dr.K.N. Shukla,M.A., D.Litt.(Benares), and to all of them I owe grateful thanks. My whole-hearted thanks are due to Mr.A.H. Harley,M.A., I.E.S.(retd.) who as a sincere friend and counsellor has guided this work to its completion.

30.12.48.

H.C. Roy
H.C. Roy.

ABBREVIATIONS.

<u>Rāso</u>	for	<u>Prithirāj Rāso.</u>
<u>Pad.</u>	"	<u>Padumāvati.</u>
<u>Rām.</u>	"	<u>Rām-Carit-Mānas.</u>
<u>Rck.</u>	"	<u>Rām-Cāndrikā.</u>
<u>Prp.</u>	"	<u>Priya-Pravās.</u>
<u>Sa.</u>	"	<u>Sāketa.</u>
<u>Kan.</u>	"	<u>Kāmāyanī.</u>
<u>Rg.</u>	"	<u>Rgveda.</u>
<u>H.A.I.</u>	"	<u>Heroic Age of India.</u>
<u>M.V.L.</u>	"	<u>Modern Vernacular Literature.</u>
<u>Kellogg.</u>	"	<u>Hindi Grammar. (KELLOG'S)</u>
<u>Veli.</u>	"	<u>Veli Kisan Rukminī, Rī.</u>
<u>P.S.P.</u>	"	<u>Punjabi-Sūfī-Poets.</u>
<u>Growse.</u>	"	<u>Growse's Translation of Rām-Carit-Mānas.</u>
<u>H.C.R.</u>	"	<u>Harish Chandra Roy.</u>

I. INTRODUCTION.

EPIC AND EPIC MATERIALS

The Epic, its definition : -

"The poet in a golden clime was born,
With golden stars above;
Dower'd with the hate of hate, the scorn
of scorn,
The love of love,
He saw thro' life and death, thro' good
and ill,
He saw thro' his own soul."¹

Tennyson here sees what a poet with fulness of insight ought to be. It has been said that there survives in Tennyson only the painter and musician. But a recent defender has declared that "he was the first poet since Lucretius to be profoundly affected by a scientific conception of nature."² A poet must be unusually gifted, and see with "extraordinary divination". His creations are an essential part of a people's emotional life. Poetry "is one of the many channels into which the energy of an age discharges itself".³

1. Tennyson's Works. (The ^{Poet} Epic)

2. Desmond MacCarthy, "Daily Telegraph", 30.11.47.

3. W.H. Hudson, The Study of Literature.

In poetic compositions the epic holds a prominent place; its great writers are among the master-minds in the literatures of the world. The epic poet in all ages and countries has given expression to stories which surrounded him in his youth, stories of facts which surrounded his nation in its youth or tragic years, and have been transmitted to him. The national ideal and civilization claim him as their most eloquent exponent. Stories of heroic deeds, of manly virtues and ideal manhood which from age to age have inspired a race, are garnered into the common store-house of the epic poem⁴. Epic poetry has appeared at various times in various parts of the world independently, and as a similar need led to its creation these productions are similar to a great extent. Literary critics in the East and the West have made a comparative study of them and framed a number of definitions which are different in form but substantially alike. To obtain a clearer idea of the epic some of these definitions are considered here.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica in its article deals with the word "epic" and gives its meaning according to Western ideas. Epic (Gr. "ἔπος", a story and "ἑπικός", pertaining to a story) is a name given to the most dignified and elaborate form of narrative poetry. The term "epopee" is also, but more rarely, employed to

5

designate the same thing.

Voltaire and some other critics, living in the 18th century, took it to be "Narratives in verses of warlike adventures". Dryden opens his "dedication" to his translation of the Aeneid with the words: "A heroic poem, truly such, is undoubtedly the greatest work which the soul of man is capable to produce". This opinion regards these long poems as intended "to form the mind to heroic virtue by example". Prof. Chadwick defines an epic as the outcome of an heroic age and sums up the conditions requisite for an heroic age in the phrase "Mars and Muses".⁶ Prof. Lascelles Abercrombie says "Epic materials are fragmentary, scattered - sometimes contradictory each piece of comparatively small size, with no intention beyond hearty narrative. It is a heap of excellent stones, admirably quarried out of a great rock face of stubborn experience. But for this to be worked into some great structure of epic-poetry, the heroic age must be capable of producing an individuality of profounder nature. He makes this heap

4. Bengali Rāmāyanās by Sen page 2.

5. En. Br. on "Epic".

6. The Growth of Literature. Vol. II.

of matter into a grand design, he forces it to obey a single presiding unity of artistic purpose. For this unity -- the symbolism of man's great destiny is required"^{7.}

Epics are sometimes divided into two classes, (1) authentic and (2) literary. Prof. Siddhanta explains these two classes in this way: ~~the~~ former may or may not be traced to a vague and shadowy author, but with the latter we are certain of individual authorship and his personality is definite in that composition e.g. Virgil is different from Homer, ~~Vyas~~ ^{8.} ~~from Vālmiki~~ *from Vyās.*

Similar definitions have been given by the Eastern writers on poetics. Among them the most comprehensive definition is that of Kavirāṣ Viśwanāth, a writer on Sanskrit poetics, who states, "The great poem Mahākāvya (epic) is a poetical composition in a number of cantos. The hero thereof should be a deity, or Kshatriya of noble family, characterised by ~~purity~~ *virtue* and generosity of heart, or a number of kings belonging to the same noble family. Of the Erotic, Heroic, Quietistic "flavours" some one of them should be the principal in it, all the others being ancillary. It should contain all the dramatic

7. The Epic page 16.

8. The Heroic Age of India.

junctures (or features). The story, pertaining to some virtual character or characters, must be derived from history such as Mahābhārata or ^{some} ~~any~~ other source. It has for its fruits (i.e. the final object obtained by the hero or the like) all ~~the~~ ^{of the following,} four, ~~merit, wealth~~ enjoyment and liberation, or it has only one of them. It begins with a salutation to a deity or a benediction, or simply with the mention of a matter leading into the main story of the poem. Sometimes it begins with a reproach of the malicious or the like and a eulogium of the good. It consists of cantos, more than eight in number, neither too short nor too long, each canto comprising stanzas, composed in some particular metre, but ending ~~with some in~~ a different one. Sometimes, however, we find a canto, composed in a variety of metres. At the end of each canto should be indicated the subject of the succeeding canto. The sun and moon, day and night, morning and evening, noon, twilight and darkness, ocean and mountains, woods and hunting, the seasons, the enjoyments and separation of lovers, saints, heaven, cities, sacrifices, military marches, counsel, marriage, birth of a son - these are to be described in it, according to occasion, together with their attendant incidents and circumstances. It is to be named after the poet, the story, the hero or the like, while the designation of a canto is to be after the principal

matter, contained therein, ²ex. Raghuvamśa, Śiśupālvadh in Sanskrit ⁹. Dandin, another Sanskrit writer, defines epic similarly ¹⁰. He ¹¹and Pandit Jagannāth ¹¹lay emphasis on this, that there should be one predominant "flavour" in it and the others should help it. The latter does not describe the other features of an epic. Hemcandra, the famous Jain grammarian, states that "the verses in the several cantos, observing all the unities, and possessing the splendour of beautiful and fine expression of feeling, make up an epic" ¹². Harivamśa a poet, with the Mahābhārata in mind says that the epic is an ākhyānam (story) and bhāvārtham (ideas and explanations) ¹³ and śrutivistāram (spreading the known facts) ¹³.

A similar conception of an epic in Persia is apparent in the Shāhnāma, the work of the great poet Firdawsī in the reign of Mahmud Ghaznī (997 - 1030 A.D.), which however has been written in the magnavī, verse-form throughout.

Comparing all the above definitions of the epic we may summarise what is considered necessary in them under five heads:

9. Sāhitya Darpaṇa, trans. by R. Ballantyne, Sloka. 559.

10. Kāvya-darśa, Slokas 14 to 22.

11. Rasagāṅgādhara.

12. Kāvya-anuśāśana. (201)

13. Also quoted in the Great Epic of India by Hopkins.

- 1) A famous story of a well-known hero;
- 2) Descriptions of various phases of life and Nature;
- 3) An heroic element;
- 4) Formalities at the beginning and end, and the development of a main "flavour";
- 5) A number of cantos or chapters.

Epic Materials: - Western writers sometimes look upon the works of Homer and Hesiod as records of primitive thought, but Professor Gilbert Murray has explicitly stated that "Our Iliad, Odyssey, Erga and Theogony are not the first, nor the second, nor the twelfth of such embodiments"¹⁴. So the existence of epic - material in Greece is posited at a very early stage of the human history. But earlier materials still are traceable in the old Indian literature. It is now generally accepted that the Rgveda has incorporated in it some primitive records to which the heroes of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata the two oldest epics in Indian literature, trace their origin.

Prof. Winternitz finds the original epic-materials¹⁵ in several Akhyānas (stories) and Samvādās of the Rgveda. The Rgveda-Samhitā contains, besides the sacrificial hymns which form the nucleus of the collection, some relics

14. En. Br. "Epic".

15. Some Problems of Indian Literature, Winternitz .

of ancient poetry unconnected with religious rites. Among these are about twenty poems which are legends myths or stories in the form of dialogues, and may be called Samvāda or Ākhyāna or Itihāsa (historical) hymns. The best known specimen of this kind of poetry is the Samvāda between Pururavas and Urvāṣī.¹⁶ Pururavas is a mortal, Urvāṣī an Apsarā or nymph. Fortunately this ancient myth of the love of a mortal king for a celestial maiden is preserved in other works and with their aid the story underlying the above mentioned dialogue can be reconstructed. A more developed form of this story is found in Satpath-Brahman (XI, 6, 1) It appears again in the Kāṭhaka of the Black-Yajurveda, in Harivaṃśa, in Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, and it forms the subject of one of Kāli-Dās's immortal dramas, the Vikramorvaśīya.

Another famous dialogue is that of Yam and Yamī.¹⁷ It is full of dramatic vigour. This is really only a fragment of a story, though one of the earliest pieces in Indian Literature. Scholars differ in their views regarding this story. In 1885 H. Oldenberg started a theory that the oldest form of epic-poetry in India

16. Rig. X. 95.

17. Rig. X. 10.

18
was the Ākhyāna, a tale with a mixture of prose and verse, the speeches being in verse, the events in prose, and he went to the Rgvedic hymns for its origin. But Max Müller and Sylvain Lévi suggested that the dialogue poems of the Rgveda might be a kind of drama. Inquiry was pursued further by Hertel and Von Schroeder, who sought to prove that these Samvāda hymns were really dialogues belonging to dramatic performances connected with the religious cult. Prof. Winternitz has followed a middle course between these theories. In his view these are half-epic, half-dramatic. He says, "This dialogue-form is indeed the most popular form of early narrative poetry. The Samvāda hymns of the Rgveda are then ancient ballads. Such ballads which treated of one and the same subject were often combined into a cycle, and such cycles of ballads formed the nucleus from which the epic has developed.¹⁹ Prof. Chadwick sees heroic poetry in ^{the} Rgveda in the hymns to Indra and other deities. "These most commonly contain prayers or thanksgiving for victory on behalf of a prince and also celebrate his generosity to the poet who is evidently a priest"²⁰. →

18. Some Problems of Indian Literature. Winternitz

19. Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry. P. 46

20. The Growth of Literature. Vol. 11. P. 482

He has traced the origin of the family of the Pāṇḍavās to the Rgveda . Here an idea seems to prevail that success can be gained through divine help, an idea that has been carried over into Sanskrit and Hindi epics. The horse has been the hero's companion and his helper since the immemorial times, and devotion to it is a prominent heroic feature in the Rgveda . References to horses occur everywhere and whole hymns are occupied with the subject. This feature goes back to the earliest period. In Rgveda VIII., 57, which dates from the time of Divodās, one stanza (18) is devoted to the praise of a mare, called Urṣanvatī. Prof. Hearenschaw says, " It is generally believed that the Aryans were the tamers of the horse, which revolutionised warfare in ancient days and caused the great empires to be overthrown and new empires to be formed" ^{21.} Bards have always praised them along with their heroes. Prithīrāj-Rāso ^{22.} contains thrilling accounts of such horses and Jāyasī ²³ and Tulsī ^{24.} give picturesque descriptions of them.

21. Indian Mythical Legend. P. 30.

22. Rāso, (Swayambatā of Samyogitā)

23. Padumāvatī. P. 70.

24. Ram. Bal. after Dohā 332.

The materials used in Hindi epics can be divided into four main groups according to their source : -

- 1) Saṅskṛit Stories;
- 2) Hīndu Folk Tales;
- 3) Sufī elements.
- 4) Rājasthānī History.

Five writers of Hindi epics have taken their subject-matter from Saṅskṛit. Tulsī, Keśav and M.S. Gupta wrote on Rām, "Hariāudh" on Kṛṣṇa and J.S. "Prasād" on the old story of Manu. (a) The story of Rām: - the story of Rām has been the subject of a great deal of discussion among oriental scholars. Talboys Wheeler thinks that the war between Rām and Rāvana is but a poetic version of the conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism in the South. According to other authorities the Rāmāyana deals with the wars of the Aryans with the occupants then in possession of India, who later adopted Aryan civilisation²⁵. The two oldest works on Rām, viz. Daśarath Jātak and Rāmāyana contain quite different accounts. The former makes Rām a son of Daśarath, king of Benares, and mentions Sītā as Rām's sister. It does not give such names as those of Kauśilyā, Kaikeie, Rāvana, Hanumān, Sugrīva, etc., which occur in Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. Prof. A.B. Keith, probably the latest scholar who has dealt with the date of its composition, puts it down as a work of the 4th cent. B.C.²⁶.

25. Indian Philosophy by Rādhākṛiṣṇan. P. 271.

26. R.A.S. April, 1915.

He convincingly refutes the arguments of Jacobi, who assigns to it an earlier date. Weber places it in the 1st or 2nd century B.C.^{27.} D.C. Sen, an eminent Bengali writer, ~~he~~ proves that the Jātaka was earlier than the Rāmāyana. He further mentions that the story of the Rākshasās and apes came from the Deccan. It was already current there and was later employed by Hemcandra Ācārya in his epic Rāmāyana, composed in the 12th Century A.D. He has thus tried to show that Vālmiki combined the two stories, i.e., that of the Daśarath-Jātaka which does not mention the Rākshasās or the monkeys and that of the Deccan which²⁸ makes longer mention of these than of Rām's story. However it is certain that there must have been Rāmāyanic ballads before the great epic, as so great a work could not have been produced by one mind alone. Vālmiki's epic was the model for subsequent writers, who however made changes in details. This model was briefly included in the Mahābhārata and later in such works in Sanskrit as Hanumannāṭaka and Adhyātm-Rāmāyana. In the 12th century Hemcandra Ācārya wrote his Rāmāyana which borrows the hero's story from Vālmiki but deals more elaborately with dynasties of the ^{Rākshasās} Kṛttivās wrote his Rāmāyana in Bengali (1400 A.D.)

27. H.S.L. trans. by Mansaⁿ p. 194 (1882.)

28. Bengali Rāmāyanās. Ch. I

on the model of Vālmiki. About two hundred years after, in 16th century, Tulsī Dās wrote in Hindi on the same model. But he was influenced by the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, especially by its fervour of devotion. He did not come under the influence of Hemcandra or of Kṛttivās. He built his mansion in his own way but to the general plan of Vālmiki. The same theme has been used by Keśav and Gupta, but with adaptations to suit their own purpose. The story of Kṛṣṇa plays an important role in the great battle scene described in the epic Mahābhārata. Prof. Rādhākṛiṣṇan writes, " The Mahābhārata belongs to a period when the Vedic hymns had lost their original force and meaning, and when ceremonial religion appealed to the people." ²⁹ It has already been noted that Prof. Chadwick traces the origin of the Pāṇḍavās' story to the hymns in the Rgveda ³⁰. This work contains narrations from early Aryan times, but though it was not given its present form till about 4 th. century B.C. It tells in Saṅskṛit the epic story of the internecine war fought about the thirteenth

29. Indian Philosophy, pp. 271 -72.

30. Supra, p. 10.

31. century B.C. — between the Kauravās and the Pāṇḍavās, in which the latter triumphed. This narrative gathered into its heroes much legendary material that had been cherished down the ages and which in this new form has nurtured manifold generations. Kṛṣṇa was the chief adviser of the Pāṇḍavās and the driver of Arjuna's chariots. Through his dexterity the Pāṇḍavās won the battle. In Sanskrit various other writers have written on Kṛṣṇa, in such valuable works as Śrīmadbhāgawat Purāṇa, and Gīt Govinda. Vidyāpati composed his immortal songs on Kṛṣṇa in Maithilī about the middle of the 15th cent.; ~~in~~ Hindi Sūr Dās and other poets of the Kṛṣṇa-cult celebrated in numerous lyrics the beauty of his childhood and the charm of his youth. No epic was written on Kṛṣṇa in Hindi till 1913 when Priya-Pravās saw the light of day. (c) The Story of Manu : - Manu is the first ancestor of mankind according to Hindu beliefs. His story is found in Rgvedic literature, the Purāṇās and other sources, ^{also} has been used in Kāmāyanī, whose author, in his introduction, has himself traced its origin in the ancient Sanskrit works. Manu ^{is} one of the few surviving identities in the great deluge. He and Śraddhā have been mentioned in Rgveda. Śraddhā is spoken of as the spring of "Kāmgotra" hence her name Kāmāyanī. In the Rgveda Irā has also been

32

31. Ancient Hindu Civilisation by Dutt (Colebrook, Wilson, Elphinstone and Wilford put it in the 14th Cent. B.C.

32. "काम गोत्रजा अत्र नामर्षिका"

33.

mentioned and is said to be a guide of Manu

In Śatpath Brāhman, Manu has been called the lord of

^{34.} Śraddhā, and the world has proceeded from their

union. Again Śatpath tells of Manu's performance of
animal sacrifice on the advice of a demon prelate³⁵ 35

named Kilātākuli. By gathering these details together
the author of Kāmāyanī has obtained his theme, which
he has embellished with imaginary scenes, and underlaid
with allegory. ⁽²⁾ Hindu Folk Tales: - Stories have been

ever welcome to the human ears and in India from time
immemorial they have played a great part in popular
amusement. They have passed with some changes from generation
to generation. Many have been collected in such Sanskrit
works as Kathāsaritsāgar and Vaitāl Pacisī. One of such
tales enjoyed in the family gathering was the story of
"Padmāvatī and Hīrāman Suganā" (The Princess Padmāvatī
and the parrot Hīrāman). Hīrāman was a very wise parrot
with the gift of speech. The parrot's reputation resembles
in some ways that of the owl. The "grey owl of Minerva"
was a symbol of wisdom for the Greeks, but elsewhere,
for instance in India and West Europe the owl stands for
stupidity. Similarly the parrot has not everywhere a
reputation for the love and wisdom here attributed to it.

33. Intr. to Kan. p. 5.

34. "अद्भुतदेवो वै मनुः"

35. Intr. to Kan. p. 41.

Many stories are told of this bird; e.g. there is the collection of 52 tales in the Tutī-nāmā ^{by} Ziyau'd - Dīn Nakhshabī, composed in 730 ^{AH/c.} 1330 A.D. In the famous mystical masnawī - poem by Farīd ^{ud} - Dīn Attār (d.c. 627/ 1330 A.D.), ^a After it had been decided in the conclave of birds to go in quest of the Simugh (the truth), the parrot was the second of many to back out. Proud in his pistachio-green dress and collar of gold he yet pleaded with sugary tongue to be excused on the ground that for his beauty he is caught and caged. Hirāman searched for a bridegroom for the princess Padumāvati . A parrot plays a small part in Prithirāj-Rāso ^{also}. There Princess Padumāvati, daughter of Padmsen, catches a parrot which relates how it came from Delhi and tells about the beauty and bounty of Prithirāj. She falls in love with his romantic figure as described. The later part of the story is similar to that in the Padumāvati of Jāyasī. But in place of 'Alāu'd ^{Dīn} Shahābu'd - Dīn appears and it is he who tries to capture Prithirāj. The parrot's name is ^{not} given as Hirāman. ^{36.}

Jāyasī adopted this story for his Padumāvati , and added to it some facts from ~~the~~ history . These are concerned with the siege of Citāur ^t in 702/1303, but the details are ^{37.} considerably modified.

36. "Rāso". Ch. XX

37. Infra pp. 78-81

(3) Sufi Element: - Sūfism was born within a century after the death of Mohammed, the prophet of Islam. It owes its origin in great measure to dissatisfaction with conditions political or spiritual, like mysticism or both, which results in despondency and in despair of human effort. It reflected the psychological reactions of different peoples, specially the Persians, to the dogmas of Islam. Soon after the arrival of the Muslim invading armies in the beginning of the 11th century, Sūfism reached India and spread gradually to east and south. A number of Sufi authors wrote poems in several Indian languages as a guide in the path of Sūfism. Its aim was communion with God and the attainment of union with Him. This union or "annihilation in God" (fanā fī Allāh) would be fully achieved after death, but in some cases it was realised during life. For the Sufi poet God is the "Beloved", and he made his verse a vehicle of ^{self-}renunciation ~~of self~~ and his passion of love. Hāfiz of Shīrāz (d. 1389 A. D.) popularized the terminology of the tavern, the wine for example being God's love and the *Sāqī the wine-boy*. Sufi -poets versified stories of classical lovers. They are tales of absorbing, if often wayward, love of mortals but this love symbolises the ideal relationship towards God. The poet of Padumāvati was an entrant on this path.

(4) Rājasthānī History : - Prithirāj Cauhan united under him

for a time the might of the greater number of Hindu princes. With his downfall Hindu power wilted for centuries. Shahābu'd-Dīn Gorī, the resolute Muslim invader, heard of the ease-seeking and careless administration of Prithirāj, and encouraged by malicious messages against him from Jaychand, invaded his territory. He attacked several times, but without success. In 1192 however, his assault was crowned with a victory which involved the downfall of the Rājput ruler. This is the historical event which provided the writer of Rāso with his main theme; the rest of his material he has taken from tales popular at that time among Hindus. // The relation of the epic to certain other literary forms could here^{now} be profitably considered.

Epic and Short-narrative : - According to the definition of an epic (Mahākāvya), it is a long narrative poem describing heroic activity, and its various parts are woven into the main theme. Events unroll themselves before the eyes. It is objective, the author sinking his own feelings in another's action, and it has a purpose related to the spirit of the time. Famous examples are the Iliad, the Odyssey, the Rāmāyana and Prithirāj Rāso. On the other hand, "the short narrative -poem (Khaṇḍkāvya) is a composition, partially resembling the epic"³⁹. Some points of resemblance and difference may be noted:

39. Sāhitya Darpana , Sloka 564.

"Epic poetry exhibits life in some great symbolic attitude,
i.e. some manner of life".⁴⁰ The shorter narrative is naturally restricted in scope and expansiveness. It stands to the former in a manner like the long-short story to the novel. There is not merely a difference in length; the longer has the greater opportunity of a many-sided development, borrowing from experience and Nature. The shorter notwithstanding its special limitation may yet give closer attention to a particular aspect. Meghdūta and Bisaldev Rāso are examples of the latter,

Epic and Lyric : - Whereas the epic chooses a hero out of the past, and at great length and with a variety of metrical forms unfolds his story, the lyric centres on the present and is subjective and gives emotional utterance to hopes and fears. With the change of time from the days when the champion essayed single-handed a great task to these of communal ^stasks infinitely distributed, the epic is losing, where it has not lost, its place to the finer or subtler efforts of mind, the lyric in particular. The lyric is in extensive use among Hindi poets but the epic is not without recent representatives .

Epic and Drama: - These are two aspects of one artistic ambition, the colourful representation of human reaction

to the surrounding scene. Declamation was originally essential in both, but epics are now more often read quietly and alone than listened to publicly, and the drama has come near to being a section cut out of life.

Writers on Sanskrit poetry require three conditions for a drama : subject matter, a hero and "flavour". The subject matter in this definition comprises dialogues. These seldom occur in the epic, though Tulsī Dās has made effective use of them in the Rām-carit-māṇṣ but ordinarily they disrupt the continuity of the story. An epic may be called a series of relevant dramatic scenes.

Epic and History: - The question may now be asked as to how the epic stands in relation to history.

History is a continuous account of the interwoven facts of needs and adaptations of human society. These are brought to light in a political, social, economic, literary or other department of history. History is an objective science, the classified record of what has been.

Imagination has no function to certify the past or to predict the future. The epic borrows historical material or what tradition credits as such. Imagination and fiction may weave their own episodes into the fabric. The author is free to narrate the main story in his own way, in accord with his aims and ideas. He moulds this story to a "grand design of artistic purpose". Incidents in his narrative may happen through supernatural agency but

"It is of man and man's purpose that he has to sing".

In training and in personality the epic writer with his creative art ~~and the historian with his creative art~~ and the historian with his interpretative skill stand wide apart.

II. THE BARDIC AGE : - PRITHIRAJ -RĀSO as representative epic

THE BARDIC AGE : PRITHIRAJ RASO.

Introduction: -~~The~~ Bardic Age and Bards:- Prithiraj Raso is an outcome of the Bardic or Heroic age in Hindi. A short account of what is known as an "Heroic Age" will help to the better understanding of its literature. Prof. Chadwick in his comparative study of the literature of the East and the West, succinctly defines it as an age of ¹ "Mars and Muses". The heroic outlook lays stress on action, that is to say it is a period in which everyone strives hard and some take the lead in over-coming their opponents through their valour and capacity, and are ambitious and try their best to fulfil their aims, even at the risk of their lives.

It is interesting to note that a bardic age co-incides with or immediately follows an heroic age in tribal or national history. In it are found heroic songs and poems composed by bards or minstrels. In European literature the evidence of scholars is quite clear on this point. Jordanes ², an early German writer, says that the Goths celebrated the deeds of their great heroes in poetry, and there is mention of Gothic court minstrels in the letters of Cassiodorus and Sidonius Apollinaris in German literature. In the Anglo-Saxon heroic poems Deor says that he was the (scoop)

1. Supra p. 3

2. The Growth of Literature by Prof. Chadwick. SIDDHANTA.

or court bard of Heodeningas and that his place has been usurped by Heo^menda, another skilful poet. In the famous epic Beowulf³ mention occurs several times of the "Scop" who recited the story of Finn and Hengist. There seem also to have been minstrels of a different type who sang not for royalty but for the people. Reference is made to them in the seventh or eighth century, in Bede's Ecclesiastical History for example.

Poems of war are not unknown in the earliest Sanskrit literature, in the Rgveda for example. One hymn describes the victory of Sudās, a Trtsu king. Signs of the real cultivation of heroic poetry in India appear in the best early poems in Śatpath Brāhmaṇa. From a description of a horse-sacrifice, one learns that there were two sorts of bards or minstrels at that time, one represented by Brāhmaṇa, who sings in this strain: "such sacrifices he offered, such gifts he gave", and one by Rājanya who sings of the wars of the sacrificer prince.⁴ Brāhmaṇa sings by day, Rājanya by night. This Rājanya, a man of military caste, evidently sang heroic narrations.

There are two other sorts of minstrels who are mentioned

3. The Growth of Literature by Prof. Chadwick.

4. The Heroic Age of India, by Prof. Sidhānta.

in Purānās and the Mahābhārata , *viz.* Sūtās and Māgadhās. The Vāyu Purana says "The Sūtās special duty as perceived by good men of old was to preserve the genealogies of gods, Rṣis and very glorious kings, and the traditions of great men ---". The Padma Purāna makes a similar statement⁵. In the Mahābhārata (111, 235) Dhṛtrāṣṭra describes how Yudhiṣṭhira in his days of prosperity was wakened by Sūtās Magadhās and other singers who recited his praises. In XV.23, Yudhiṣṭhira's praises are sung by large numbers of Sūtās, Māgadhās, and bards (Vandins) "One statement makes the Sūtā, a paurāṇika, the Māgadhā, a genealogist. A passage says that from Prthivī's time the Sūtās and Māgadhās, who both came into existence then, were royal panegyrists, and they and the Vandins awakened the king in the morning with their blessings"⁶ Panegyrists were thus very common in the courts of princes and lauded their actual deeds and sang conventional praises. As the days passed these troubadours grew in number till in course of time they formed a class well known as the vandins or bhaṭṭās. Still in Indian villages these bards are to be seen, sometimes singing in pairs to the beat of drums. In Gujrāt this type is known as Gagariā Bhāṭ. He goes from place to place with a couple of disciples. "His stock in trade is his Ākhyānās, his fact, and his māna

5. V.1, 21-8.

Ancient Indian Historical Traditions

6. A.J.H. Taby Pargiter p. 17.

or gāgara, a large copper pot with a narrow neck, from which he gets his name. With his nimble fingers loaded with brass rings, he ~~starts~~ playing upon the gāgara -- and makes the pot resound with his skilful raps." ^{7.}

In Saṅskrit Literature, ^{the} Bāṇ was famous among these bardic poets. They continued their minstrelsy in the Prākṛit^ḥ. By this time the poetic art has become ^{to} regarded as hereditary; they lived at the courts and sang of their patrons. These singers continued in Apabhraṁṣa, and bards like Puṣpdānt wrote long narrative poems. "Apabhraṁṣa" is nothing other than old Hindi influenced by Prākṛit.

Hindi Bardic Poetry: - The literature of this age can be grouped into 3 classes. In the first come the poems of the heroic age itself, which had actually been composed at the courts of the heroes. Examples of these are Bisaldev Rāso and Khumān Rāso. ^{In} the second class come songs dealing with adventure not yet celebrated by bards. Gradually these scattered poems and songs were assembled and this led to the production of more ambitious compositions. The older court-poems gave place to epics, and in this manner Prithirāj- Rāso came into existence. In the third class are the popular versions of the old heroic stories; such are Vacanikā Ratan Singhjīrī Mahesadāsotārī and Caṇḍ Rāujetsīro.

In the second class referred to above Prithirāj Rāso was said to be an example of an ambitious work which developed out of the old court-poetry. Again, Bisaldev Rāso and Khumān Rāso had been short narrative poems, mostly in ballad form. Bisaldev Rāso is the older one, ^{being} composed about 1155 A.D., it is incomplete and consists of four chapters comprising about 309 verses. Khumān Rāso tells of Mahārāja Khumāna who lived perhaps somewhere between 753 A.D. and 943 A.D. As it also tells about ^{nē} Mahārāj Pratāp Singh who existed in the time of Akbar, this poem seems to have received its present form at a much later date. Out of these and their like grew the present epic. In all the above-mentioned works the word Rāso has been used. Some have connected it with "Rahasya" or "mystery". But in Bisaldev Rāso the word "Ra~~sāyan~~^{yan}" occurs several times in the sense of poetry. Hence it is possible that the word "Ra~~sāyan~~^{sāyan}" changed into "Rāso" in course of time; Prithirāj Rāso would then mean "The Story of Prithirāj".

The problem of the ^{identity} ~~personality~~ of "Cañd" and of incongruity in the details of the story can be considered together here.

The main story tells of the coming over of four Kshatriya dynasties from ~~Ālā~~^{Ālā} ~~ya~~^{ya} ~~g~~^g ~~ya~~^{ya} - Kuñda and the establishment of ~~Ca~~^{Ca} ~~u~~^u ~~h~~^h ~~ā~~^ā ~~n~~ⁿ sovereignty in Ajmer down to the imprisonment of Prithirāj by Shahābūd- Dīn Gorī. According to this work Prithirāj was the son of the king Someśwar of Ajmer and ~~the~~

grandson of Anorāj. Someśwar was married to the daughter of Ananpāl, the ~~young~~ king of Delhi. Ananpāl had two daughters Sundarī and Kamalā. Sundarī was married to King Vijaypāl of Kannauj, and Jaichand was a son of this union.

Ananpāl adopted his grandson Prithīrāj and in consequence the states of Delhi and Ajmer were combined. Jaichand resented the union of these states. He arranged a Rājsūya Yagya besides a Swayambar (selection of one's own husband) for his daughter and invited all the princes to participate. These all joined the ceremony except Prithīrāj. Jaichand was angry at this and put a gold image of Prithīrāj at the gate as a guard, ~~and~~ thus signifying ^{latter's} ~~the~~ humiliation. Jaichand's daughter Saṅyogitā was in love with Prithīrāj, and when she came with the garland she placed it on the head of his image. Thereupon Jaichand ordered his daughter away to a lonely house on the bank of the Ganges. Afterwards the Yajna was broken up by the soldiers of Prithīrāj, who was himself waiting outside and seizing a chance carried off Saṅyogitā. Their way was severely contested, but Prithīrāj proved victorious and reached Delhi safely. Here he passed his days in ease and enjoyment to the neglect of his state-affairs.

As the power of Prithīrāj's army had greatly dwindled due to the fighting with Jaichand, and as there had been much mismanagement in the State affairs, Shahābu'd-Dīn Gorī thought it a favourable time to launch an attack. But in the first

battle he was defeated and captured. Prithīrāj behaved generously and released him. But the attacks were several times repeated and in the last engagement Prithīrāj was taken prisoner and sent to ~~Delhi~~ Ghaznī. Some time after the poet Chānd joined his master there in captivity. One day when Prithīrāj and Chānd had been summoned into the court of Shahabū'd-Dīn, the former killed the Gorī king with an arrow shot in accordance with instructions from Chānd, and later the two survivors killed one another.

The reason for the enmity between Prithīrāj and Shahabū'd-Dīn has been stated to be that the former did not return a woman who had escaped to his protection from the clutches of the latter who loved her. Though the Gorī Sultān demanded her Prithīrāj refused to give her up on the grounds that it was a pious duty of a Kshatriya king not to yield up a suppliant at his court to a treacherous enemy.

Its Time and Genuineness : - There is now ^{wide} general agreement that Prithīrāj Rāso was not written by Chānd, not in Prithīrāj's time, but later. This can be proved by refuting several facts and data of incident and time given in the poem.

The dates mentioned in it are for the most part incorrect. In Book XLVI. C. 1. ~~it~~ is stated that Prithīrāj was born in 1115, i.e. in 1058 A.D. In ~~the~~ Book XVlll. 31. it is said that Anāspāl, the king of Delhi, ~~who~~ adopted Prithiraj in S. 1138 i.e. 1081. A.D.

Again ~~in~~ book XLIV. 3. tells us that Shahābu'd-Dīn's army went into camp in S.1140 i.e. 1083 A.D. Further, Book LIV ~~84~~, V.63 says that Shahābu'd-Dīn attacked in S.1158, i.e. 1101 A.D., for the last time.

Now the poem gives the year in which Prithīrāj fought for the last time, ^{will} Shahābu'd-Dīn as S. 1158 or 1101 A.D., but historical evidence shows that Prithīrāj fought with Shahābu'd-Dīn in the Punjāb in S.1249, i.e. 1193 A.D., and was reigning in Delhi before that time. The author of Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri (written in A.H. 602 = A.D. 1205 = S. 1262) says of Shahābu'd-Dīn (Mu'izzu'd - Dīn Gorī) :

"In A.H. 578 (= A.D. 1182 = S. 1239) the Sultān came towards Deval and besieged the maritime districts - he obtained much booty." "Again, in A.H. 580 (- A.D. 1184 = S.1241) he went to Lahore and plundered the whole territory ----"

"In A.H. 587 (A.D. 1191 - S. 1248) he takes the fortress of Sirhind and being himself about to return to Ghaznī places Ziyāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad in charge, with instructions to hold it until his return after the hot season. In the meantime Pithorā Rāi (Prithīrāj Cauhān) advances with other allied Hindu princes and defeats Mu'izzu'd-Dīn at Tarāin, near Thāneswar. The latter, badly wounded, retires to Lahore, whence, on recovering, he returns to Ghaznī. "

"In A.H. 588 (= A.D. 1192 = S. 1249) Prithīrāj besieges Sirhind, and Ziyāu'd-Dīn, after holding it successfully for

over thirteen months, is forced to capitulate, ~~but~~ Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, returning to Hindustān, again encounters Prithīrāj and his allies near Thāneśwar and totally defeats them, thus becoming virtually master of the country. Prithīrāj, being captured, is put to death and his son appointed governor of Ajmer. Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, according to the Tājūl-Ma'āsir, immediately proceeds to Delhi, then held ~~up~~ by a kinsman of Govind Rāi, but on ~~the~~ Rājā's agreeing to submit and pay a heavy tribute, he leaves him, unmolested and, -- prepares to return to Ghaznī".

"In A.H. 590 (= A.D. 1194 = S.1250 ~~51~~) Qutūbu'd-Dīn, leaving Delhi, crosses the Jam^{unā} and takes the fort of Kol ----. Later he aids Mu'izzu'd-Dīn in defeating Jaycandra of Benares and Kannauj " 8

Thus it is clear that the battle between Shahābu'd-Dīn and Prithīrāj Cauhān and the latter's death occurred in S. 1248-49, that is about 90 years after the date mentioned in Rāso. Although the writer of Tabqat-i-Nāsiri was a foreigner, he is not likely to have committed mistakes in the dates, if he did in names. The second volume of Abūl-Fidā, written in A.D. 1300, mentions Shahābu'd-Dīn's advent in Hindustān and states briefly the events that happened in the years 1190 to 1192; this does not

8. These passages have been taken from Raverty's Trans. of the Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri (Bibliotheca Indica) Vol. I, 452, 453, 458-60) and The Chronology of India by C. Mabel Dowson 167-8. A few changes in the translation of names have here been made. (H.C.R.)

give any information about Prithīrāj's battle, but the existence of Shahābu'd-Dīn Gorī is proved to be an historical fact from the narrative, and the other histories available mention A.D. 1192-93(S.1249) as the date of the battle between them.

Various inscriptions verify these dates. One in the village of Bijholi in Mewār, about a hundred miles from its capital, records the grant of the village of Rewna by Someśwar Dev, the father of Prithīrāj; this was executed by Mahajan in S.1226 - A.D. 1169. This shows that Prithīrāj could not have been alive or ~~dead~~ in S.1158 - 1101 A.D. as mentioned in Rāso. The inscription concludes with the genealogy of the Cauhāns down to Someśwar Dev; this shows that his son Prithīrāj had not ascended the throne when the inscription was placed in "Phālgun Badi" S.1226, i.e. 1169 A.D. Another inscription, in Menalgarh, in Mewār, records the erection of a monastery by Bha^r~~va~~ B~~h~~ahma, while Prithīrāj Cauhān was the reigning monarch; it is dated "Cait Badi" S.1226-1169 A.D. On comparing the two inscriptions it is clear that Prithīrāj ascended the throne between Phālgun Badi and Cait Badi S.1226.

Further there are some copper-plates, patents of Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj, bearing dates S.1233 to 1243

9.

(1177, 1187) A.D.

There has been found an incomplete book, Prithīrāj Vijai, in Saṁskrit written by a Kāśmīrī poet, Jayānak. The facts and figures given in this book are the same as those discovered during various historical researches. It names Karpur Devī as the mother of Prithīrāj, but Rāso gives it as Kamala Devī. The former is supported by an inscription in Haṁsī. According to this book and other authentic works such as Hammīr-Mahākāvya, the marriage of Someśwar with the daughter of the Tomar king Anaṅpāl, the adoption of Prithīrāj by Anaṅpāl, and the elopement of Saṁyogitā are proved to be anachronisms .
10
Dr. Buhler expresses similar views.

Further Rāso says that Prithīrāj belonged to Agnivaṁśī Kshattriyās, but a memorandum of 843 A.D. found in Gwālior and the famous Saṁskrit dramatist Rājśekhara have proved the names of Pratihārās to be Suryavaṁśīs. In Prithīrāj-Vijai, too, Caṁhāns are

9. Proceedings of A.S.B. (1893. No.4.)

10. J.R.A.S. 1873, p.317.

called Suryavamsīś. Thus Cauhāns since before Prithīrāj and down to 1403 A.D. were regarded as Suryavamsīś. Had Rāso been written in the time of Prithīrāj it would not have given his origin in the Agnivamsaś.

Further, the names of the ancestors of Prithīrāj as given in Rāso differ from those given in Prithīrāj-Vijai, in the writings of Vijholiā and in Prabañdh-Kosa. The names given in Surjan-Carit, written in 1578 A.D., give 27 names of the Cauhān dynasty, of which 13 ~~names~~ correspond with those in other books. But out of 44 names given in Rāso only seven correspond with those in Prithīrāj Vijai and in the writings of Vijholiā. If Rāso had been written at the time of Prithīrāj there would not have been such a difference. It seems that it was written after Surjan-Carit, i.e. after A.D. 1578. As has already been mentioned the Hammīr-Mahākāvya differs from the Rāso. Had Rāso been famous the writer of the former work would certainly have followed it. Rāso mentions the visit of Kumbhā, the eldest son of Samar Singh, to the court of the Muslim king of Bīdar. Till the time of Prithīrāj Muslims had not even entered the Deccan as rulers. The Bīdar state was founded by Ahmad Shāh Vali in 1413; this is evidence that Rāso was composed after this time. Further, in 1460 Kumbhakarna built the famous fort of Kumbhalgarh and engraved a long

inscription on the five pillars. It does not mention the killing of Shahābu'd-Dīn by an arrow of Prithīrāj or the marriage of his sister with Samat Singh. But in 1675 A.D. in the long writings on 25 pillars by Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh the name of Rāso has been mentioned,¹¹ and also the above story. This appears to prove that Rāso was written sometime between 1460 A.D. and 1675 A.D.

So far the proofs of Rāso not being genuine have come from its collation with various works, and with inscriptions brought to light mainly by two Rājasthānī historians, Kavirāj Śyāmal Dās and Dr. Gaurī Cand - Hirācand Ojhā. But the text of Rāso itself bears witness to its unauthenticity. The following points require consideration in this connection: -

- (1) The use of guns;
- (2) Mention of Mughaland and Sūfī.
- (3) The tolerant tone of the poet.
- (4) A resemblance to Jāyasī's epic.
- (5) The poems in it are not in keeping with the reputation of the poet described as a friend, a warrior and a court-poet of Prithirāj.
- (6) A note on its language and reputation of the points raised by several supporters of Cand will follow.

11. J.R.A.S., 1873, p.317.

12

The word 'हथतार' meaning a gun, has been used several times in accounts of the battles between Shahābu'd-Dīn and Prithīrāj, ^{but in other books} there is no mention of such weapons.

A gun was simply a tube by means of which stones were thrown at an enemy. Guns were in use in India by the middle of the 16th century. Malik-i- Maidān, "a master-piece of the gun-founder's art" was one of the cannon mounted on the walls of Bījāpur in this century or early 17th. (Concise History of the Indian People, H.G. Rawlinson, p.151) This clearly shows that the writer of Rāso belongs to an epoch when guns were used in warfare.

(2) At the beginning of his eighth chapter the poet writes, " I write the story of the Muḡhal of Mewāt" ¹³ The word Muḡhal has been explained as Mudgal Rāi by the learned editors of the Nārgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā- edition of Rāso. But these scholars have not explained how Mudgal Rāi can be substituted for Muḡhal. Further, Bājīd Khan's fighting on the side of the Muḡhal of Mewāt against Someśwar, the father of Prithīrāj, supports the views that some Muḡhal has been mentioned as ruling Mewāt at that time. This account like so many that have had currency is totally incorrect, and gives backing to the opinion that the writer lived in the Muḡhal period.

12. Hoënle translates it as: ~~such~~ "The Tartar gave out his loud command towards the four quarters. (Whereupon) balls of large and small guns and rockets were thrown." Raso. Pt. 11. Revātata.

Further , a Jaṅgam (a saint) has been introduced in the 60th chapter; at its close the poet writes," Thus the chapter containing the story of Jaṅgam- Sofhī ~~and~~ ends here,"^{14.} Some ~~Sufīs~~ ^{mag} have come with the early invaders but it is unlikely that they would ~~have~~ decide to live in the country, ^{whilst} ~~after~~ the Muslim aggressions were ^{being} repulsed . It is certain however that they entered India¹⁵ in considerable numbers just after the Muslim conquest. And as Mohammad Gorī (d. 1206 A.D.) was the founder of Muslim rule in India, it is doubtful whether during his struggle for supremacy against the Hindu rulers, any Sūfī could have been so reputed as to be acquainted with a princess like Saṅyogita .¹⁶ Sūfism seems to have become popular in the 16th century, in which it was so well represented by Jāyasī in his Padmāvatī . The author of the Rāso belongs then to a later period than that originally claimed for him, and must have been contemporary with such Sufi saints.

(3) The poet has described the valour of the soldiers¹⁷ of Prithīrāj in much the same way as those of Shahābu'd-Dīn .

14. "द्विती श्री कवि-चन्द विरचिते प्राधिराजरासके-जंगम-सोफी कथा
--- साठको प्रस्ताव सम्पूर्णम्॥"

13- मेवाती मुगल कथा लिख्यते।

15. P.S. P. by Lajwantī, Rām Kriṣṇa.

16. Rāso. ch. 60.

17. Rāso. ~~V. 1~~ ²⁵ 42-43, ch. 52.

Though the latter was the invader and challenged the renown of his hero, yet the poet gives a realistic and sympathetic description of Shahābu'd-Dīn's valour¹⁸. Had the author of the Rāso been a contemporary and a court-poet of Prithirāj, he would not have been so tolerant. Such a tolerance was never witnessed between two struggling faiths before the time of Kabīr (d.c.1518), and not till Akbar's diplomatic reign was it mooted in state management. The poet of the Rāso must have lived out his life near to, or even in, Akbar's period.

(4) The story of the parrot (Hirāman) and Rānī Padumāvatī appears in the Rāso in a form similar to that in the Padumāvatī of Jāyasī. The parrot is wise and loquacious in both works. In both it plays a part, making the prince and princess acquainted, though the name of Ratansen is given in Raso as Prithirāj, and instead of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, the invader is Shahābu'd-Dīn. In Padumāvatī this story has been more fully developed. It must have had a wide currency in the time of these two writers. Both composers were fond of myths and popular tales as appears from their works, whereas ^{other poets} contemporary ~~with the events~~ ^{Hindi poets} were more occupied with the mere stories of their heroes.

(5) Had the author of Rāso been a friend, a warrior or a court-poet of Prithiraj he would have given a more realistic account of the life of his hero, and a more continuous form to the narrative. The continuity has been so much disrupted and such foolish repetitions occur that one realises it could not have come as it is from a composer in ^{possession of his} full senses. For example the first 132 pages are devoted to invocations ^{and} the origin of the ten incarnations of God. The work then proceeds to narrate the birth, child-hood and sports of Prithirāj. It describes him as holding "Durbārs" ¹⁹, going on a successful hunting expedition ²⁰, and afterwards making for Delhi, his grand-father's place - all this at the age of eight years ²¹. On a priori grounds some at least of these events seem incredible. Further a poet's meeting with a saint and getting from him power to produce 52 warriors is not compatible with reason. Almost all the chapters contain such fabulous incidents and the repetitions are nonsensical. In ch. IX. Mir Husain brings with ^{him} Chitrarekhā, whom Shahābu'd-Dīn Gorī also loves. Prithirāj gives the former shelter, and battle ensues. Shahābu'd-Dīn is defeated, but Housain is killed and Chitra ²² buries herself alive with him. Shahābu'd-Dīn is then said to have attacked Arab Khān for possession of Chitrarekhā and gets her.

19. Rāso, ch. V.

20. Rāso, ch. VI.

21. बाबू जट्ट प्रियराज गये मुसल

22. Rāso, ch. IX.

दिल्ली यहाँ (अ. VII).

Here it must be objected that there could not have been two Chitrarekhās whom Shahābu'd-Dīn loved. Nor is it sufficient defence to say that the matters mentioned above are interpolations. If the criticism made here is accepted then about three-quarters of Rāso will be proved to be of a later date, and this will throw some doubt on the genuineness of the remaining portion. An action open to question in Rāso is mentioned in Chapter 28, where Anaṅgāl, Prithirāj's grand-father, who had already bestowed the kingdom of Delhi on him, attacks him on the ground of his misrule. Not only this, but he seeks the help of Shahābu'd-Dīn who attacks him immediately. Reason seems altogether wanting from the account of this event. To accept it as it stands and to overlook the historical inexactitudes amounting to distortion of facts would be to inflict injustice on Prithirāj, as his associate and court-poet could never have carried out his functions so incompetently.

(6) The language of Rāso is not typical of the 13th century, but belongs to about the sixteenth. If the language of the Prākṛit-Vyākaraṇa of Hemachandra, the Pratibodh of Somprabh, of Prabandh- Pingal (specially the verses about Hammīr) and of Jaitasī Rāo Kochand, ^{is compared with} ~~with~~ that of Rāso a wide difference is perceptible. In the former of these works a very small percentage of Persian words

is mixed with Rājasthānī, but in Rāso about ten percent of the words are Persian, which shows that for the most part it is not a very old book. There are many inconsistencies in grammatical construction. In some of the verses, especially the Dohās and Kavitts, the language is so settled that it can be compared with that in such verses in Sūr Dās, Tulsī Dās (16th cent.) even Biharīlāl, a poet who flourished in the 17th century.²³ But in smaller verses such a number of nasal words occur that there appears to have been borrowing from Saṁskṛit or Prākṛit. In several places the language resembles in structure Modern Hindi, verbs for instance being used in the new forms. At the same time it retains the old literary form with the Prākṛit and Apabhramśa words and cases of the old type.

(7) Some scholars have tried to maintain that Chhand was the author of this epic and that it was written in Prithīrāj 's time. Among them are the three editors of Rāso, Mohanlāl V. Paṇḍia, Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Dās, Syām Sundar Dās, and also the Miśra-bandhūs. The main points of their argument are : - (1) Even before Shahābu'd-Dīn Gorī several attacks by Persian-speaking Muslims were made on India, and it is probable that some of these were

23. Not only the language but the ideas also are similar to those of Tulsī : - सुनहु भरत भावी प्रबल, बिलाखि कहै सुनिनाथ।
हानि लाभ जीवन मरन, जज्ञ अपयज्ञ विधि-होय ॥ (Rāso, 0.169).
Rāso:- फेरि व्यास कहै सुनि प्रनडा राई। भक्तिव्य बात मैही न जाय।
रथुनाथ होय रथलोक देख तिकनक मुगल ललि पदेब ॥ (Rāso, 1.340).

left behind, and the poet Caṇḍ could thus have acquired Persian words and used them. He has said himself " I have used also the language of the Kurān".^{24.}

(2) The "irregularity of the language" i.e. its varying usage, is a characteristic of human speech. Men use the same language for various subjects, but a difference in usage is noticeable.

(3) The poet, they say, has used in his reckoning Ānaṇḍ Saṁvat, which is 90 years behind the popular Saṁvat and they have tried to establish the dates given in Rāso by adding 90 to them.²⁵

(4) Because of their performing yagyās the Caṇḍhāns were called Agnīvaṁśīs, though they may earlier have been called **Suryavaṁśīs** or Caṇḍravaṁśīs.

(1) As for the first point, these authorities say that Caṇḍ was born in Lahore where Muslims lived before Gorī. But in the Rāso there is no mention of Caṇḍ's having been influenced by Muslim neighbours. Further, it seems improbable that the court-poet of Prithīrāj, even if living with Muslims, would show their influence in his writings. Bards hailed the victories of their heroes over crest-fallen foes, and at this time when the Muslims must have been regarded as ruthless

24. षष्ठ्याया पुराणा च। कुरान कथित मया। (V. 83, cl. 1)'

25. Hindi-Navratna, p. 610

invaders the attitude of tolerance towards them shown in this work is out of place, and sets it down to a date later than the events narrated. Further, the defenders of Rāso's early date have not brought reliable proof^{that} this poet was born in Lahore, and had Muslims living nearby in his childhood.

(2) They explain away the "irregularity in the language" on the apparently reasonable ground that one's language differs even in one's own writing on different subjects. This may be the case with the ~~occasional~~^{ion} author, but not with an epic-writer who used the language current at court, and whose art was on trial before the king and his courtiers.

(3) The supporters of Cand say that the writer of Rāso has used the Ānaṇḍ Saṁvat-era, which is 90²⁶ years behind the popular Vikram Saṁvat, and thus they bring the dates in Rāso quite near to those given in other works. But this Saṁvat has not been used by contemporary writers and cannot be employed merely to prove the authenticity of the dates in Rāso.

(4) If the performance of Yagyās can alone suffice to change the name of Surya ~~Vamśkīś~~ to Agnī ~~vamśkīś~~, then

26. See Antiquities of India by Dr. Barnett, p.95

Raghu, Dilīp, Rām, Yudhiṣṭhira- all can be called Agnivamśkīs, for they performed many yagyās. Even demons in the line of Bāli, if there were any, could be called Agrivamśkīs, because Bāli performed more than a hundred such ceremonies. And so this plea is not sufficient defence of the mis-statement in Rāso that Prithīrāj was an Agnivamśkī. Thus by proving, several of the facts and figures in Rāso to be false, it is possible to fix its approximate date.

This was previously set down as being between 1460 A.D. and 1675 A.D. As the oldest MS. of this work was found in 1585, it must have been given its present form between 1460 A.D. and 1585 A.D. Though some writers have tried to fix a definite date for Rāso there has not been found reliable data to confirm it. Hence merely this much can be said that the author was in existence in Rājputānā when Jāyasī was famous in Northern India and Muslim rule had entered onto a period of tolerance.

The Language - General Remarks : - This work is believed to have been written in Dīngal, a Rājasthānī dialect, but, to have borrowed many words from other languages and dialects. There are a few peculiarities in the grammar. The first of these is uncertainty in spelling. As regards vowels, a word may be written one time with a short vowel, at another

with a long one. Vowels are inserted or omitted at will, and diphthongs are represented in two or three ways. As for consonants, the poet inserts or omits one as he pleases. Double consonants are written as single, and single as double; aspirates are deprived of their aspirations, and ~~non~~aspirates are aspirated at will. In the nouns and pronouns an analytical system has been used but it is undeveloped. The post positions are used with तुम , as तुमको , tumakau, तुमसे tumasaũ, etc., and इह is frequently used in verses.

Nominal forms: - Nouns in Rāso are almost formless, and there may be a group of nouns at one place out of which the reader has to construct a sentence by supplying the needful case-signs. The irregularity of the language, too, stands in the way of formulating principles regarding forms ; (1) Saṅskrit nouns are used in the original form at some places, e.g., विरद virad, विलाप vilāp, etc.; at others their forms are twisted, e.g. मुहूरत Muhūrat, क़ब्बत krabbat, etc. Like Keśav Dās this poet uses diphthongs with all sorts of forms, even with proper nouns, e.g. लोहानो lohānau, सरंदौ — Saruṇḍau, etc. Persian and Arabic nominal forms have freely been used.

II. Verbal forms : - Verbal forms are also indefinite due to the irregularity of language.

(1) The influence of Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa has distorted many of them, such as नामि, Nammi (v. 361 ch. I) बुल्लाइ bullāi (v. 380. ch. I.).

(2) Some forms correspond to those in Braj and Bundelkhandī,²⁷ e.g. भयउ bhayau (v. 349 ch. 1), रचउ racau (v. 364 ch. I.).

(3) Sometimes औ au gives place to वाउ vāu, e.g. चलवाउ calavāu, मगवाउ magvāu (v. 465. ch. I)

(4) The diphthong ऐ ai is very often used as the termination of verbs, e.g. मिटै mitai, सहे sahai (v. 513. ch. I)

(5) Some forms are the same as in Kharibolī, e.g. पुकारे pukāre (V. 515 ch. I), काटे kaṭe (v. 2. ch. 63)

(6) The poet has written Sanskrit slokās too, and at some places he uses the Sanskrit forms of verbs in Hindi verses, e.g. बिहारी bihasi (v. 11. ch. VII)

III. Adjectival forms: - Adjectival forms also are used irregular. Usually the gender of the adjectives has been changed according to the nouns they qualify, e.g. अलिङ्गता सुंदरी āliṅgatā suṇdarī (v. 543 ch. I). As the Rāso deals mostly with heroic and miraculous matters feminine adjectival forms are seldom found.

Adjectives have often been repeated (दुष्ट-कुष्ट have been repeated about half a dozen times on p.110). Adjectival forms are short, and their compounds are seldom noticeable. The poet also used those forms which are found in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, and Persian, e.g. महा , Maḥā; सब्ब Sabb; जाजुल्य Jājulya; असल Asal.

Other Forms : - The poet has often placed dots over words to give a nasal effect. Perhaps he did this to produce a Saṅskritic effect, but many such dots occur due to the influence of Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa. He has written many slokas in Saṅskrit; some ^{verses} ~~metres~~ too (as ^{-tā} Saṅskṛit) are written after ^{the} slokas and, ~~these~~, combined with the nasal words, give Rāso a superficial Saṅskritic impression. The poet himself has said that he has used six languages. Owing to his ambition in this direction the forms of the words are not ^{the same} ~~similar~~ throughout. Adverb~~s~~ and pronouns are mainly from Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa.

Infiltration of Persian Words into Rāso :-

Owing to the conquest of the Persians by the Arabs in 638 A.D. and the conversion of most Persians to Islam the Arabic language was widely cultivated in their homeland. When the Persians began to turn ^{to} their

own language as a literary medium in the 11th century, it had incorporated many Arabic words, but without their case-endings. Except when a distinction is necessary it is sufficient to speak of words of Persian origin. In no other well-known work in Hindi is there such a percentage of Persian and Arabic words as in Rāso. It may be noted here how these came to India and were at the disposal of this poet. These words may be classified under the following heads : -

- (1) Religion and Ritual.
- (2) Courtly terms.
- (3) Warfare.
- (4) Miscellaneous.

(1) If looting was the chief motive in Mahmūd's invasions of India, religion was one which impelled the ~~invaders~~ to turn their conquest to good account. With them or after them came preachers (maulavīs) eager to spread the faith. Under the head of religion and ritual may be grouped the following terms : - कुरान (Qurān), मुसाफ (mushaf), रहमान (Rahmān), ईमान (Īmān), काफ़र (kāfir), तसबी (tasbī), पीर (pīr), मोसल्ल (musall), हाजी (hājī), तरीक़ा (tarīqā).

(2) The invaders were led by men from noble families and terms of respect appropriate to them and to others deserving them were current. Such are शाहशाह (Shāhānshāh).

हुज्जाब (hujjāb), हजरत (ḥaḍrat), सुल्तानी (Sultānī), मीर (mīr), हूर (hūr), तस्लीम (taslīm), अदब (adab), गाजी (ghāzī), सलाम (salām), हारम (ḥaram)

(3) The Muslims entered as invaders and had to maintain their position by fighting; being flesh-eaters they went after game, hence the words associated with warfare and chase were current at the time of Rāso.

Some of these are: हमेल (hamāl), मुकाम (maqām), तीर (tīr), डेरा (ḍera), कामान (kamān), नीसान (nīsān), नेजा (neḥā), अंदाज (andāz), फौज (fauj), जखम (zakhm), नाफेरि (naferi), लगाम (lagām), तरवीर (tarwār)

The Muslims had their own names for war and implements of war and the underlined words are such .

(4) Among the miscellaneous words some have to do with love-affairs, etc., e.g. आशिक (āshiq); articles in general use, e.g. चिराग (chirāg), कागज (kāgāz),

कलम (qalam); and other words are: आवाज (āwāz), शोर (shor), तेज (tej), गुमान (gumān), जवाब (jawāb), नूर (nūr), सिर (sir), आसमान (āsmān), पार (pās), बख्श (bakḥsh), मशवरत (Mashwarat), सितम (sitam), वक्त (vaqt), घोब (ghol), etc.

Literary Merits: - As the poet of Rāso is unknown, there must be a certain indefiniteness in dealing with the topic. He seems to have made use of tales current in his time. These are elements of the miraculous and the mythical, e.g. in tale about Mt. Abu, the

saint's giving power to the poet to produce 52 warriors, ,²⁸
Amar Singh's creation of the Moon in a moonless night, ,²⁹
He seems to know well Hindu usages and customs, and to
believe in their superstitions³⁰ . He had a wide knowledge
of courts, and of war, its conduct and equipment. But
his knowledge of Sanskrit poetics was limited, likewise
his range in Sanskrit. He is faithful to his hero, but
at the same time is tolerant to the opponents.³¹

His Idea of Poetry : - The poet's creative genius
was not so developed that any definite idea of poetry, he
may have had, can be discovered. An indication of such can be
derived from a few utterances showing an inclination towards
the perfecting of "flavours". For instance in ch.1. he
says "I write poems, full of "Raso"³¹ . Apparently he was
not fond of Alaṅkāras, he has not stated that he would
adorn his poems with literary embellishments, but he
does say, "I have related --- the nine 'flavours'"³².
With the latter object in mind he has given vivid accounts³³
of beauty in Nature,³⁴ of pranks in childhood, of valour,
of love³⁵ , and the pangs of separation,³⁶ and he has
succeeded to a great extent in this effort. Throughout

28. Rāso, ch. VI. 29. Rāso, ch. XI. 30. Rāso, chs. XXII
XXIII. XXIV.

31. "सरस भाव्य रचना करो" (क. 1. 1) 32. "राजनीति त्वं संकोच्यते मया
(च. 1. 1. 83) 33. Rāso chs. XXII

34. Rāso, Ch. 1. 35. Rāso, ch. XX. 36. Rāso, ch. XX.

his poem the heroic "flavour" appears to be predominant, and it can be inferred that he believed that "Rasa" is the soul of poetry.

His Idea of Love : - Love in Rāso is of the romantic type. Padmāvatī hears the praises of Prithirāj from the parrot and her heart is captivated. His wives he had won by conquest. He was "gallant in love and in war", but in this poem the heroic element is the prevailing one.

His Idea of Fate : - The poet belonged to an age when courage and confidence had ceased to vitalise Hindu ideals and culture. The poet, like others of his generation, looked to the gods for aid and believed in the power of fate. Like Tulsī, he believed that "What is allotted can not be blotted". Vyās in Rāso explains this idea to Ananīgpat.³⁷ Fate is the cause of success, reverse and change in man's life. One digs a hole and puts his wealth there, and an unknown person finds it and another³⁸ derives benefit from it. To this poet's eye the world is an arena where fate disposes human beings as it will. One's lot is good or bad according to one's actions in the previous existence.³⁹ Rebirth and fate are inextricably linked.

37. फिरि व्यास कोहे सुनि धनं गराइ
भविष्य बात मेही न जाइ (V. 34 ch. III).

38. भुगवैति कोइ गडुति कोइ। कोइक पद कोइ लभवै।
देवान सुसंकह देवगति। जो न्नि यान सुनि भवै॥

39. कर्मवश्य नरं जीवं। न कर्मं क्रियतं
सो प्राप्ति। कर्म सुभं च अमुभं। कर्म जीव परकं प्राप्ति॥
(V. 319 ch. 64).

Yet in man there is a latent resistance to acceptance of this despotism of fate, and there are a few passages in which some of Prithīrāj's warriors trusting to their strength, dare to hope to win.

His Power of Description : - The poet is not satisfied with brief descriptions; he gives graphic accounts of quite small details, e.g. praise of the supreme deity (p.160), of Śiva (pp. 43, 77), of the Sun (pp. 1396, 1397) and of a goddess (p.492). He has given long narratives of battle scenes, and more than half the poem is occupied by them. Such descriptions are found on pp. 412-13, 706, 815, 1134-35, 1225 -26, 1375 -76, 1381-82, etc. There are elaborate descriptions of hunting (pp. 476-1512), lions (p.578), the forest (p.764), tents (p.485), Spring, (pp. 1287, 1504, 1507 etc), food, (p.596), the sword (p.1225), ^{and} marriage (p.649). With the help of his imagination he has elaborated otherwise short tales; for example about a hundred pages in Ch.I are given to the emerging of the Cauhāns from Ābūyagya ~~kānda~~. These descriptions are irrelevant to a great extent but the author knows no restraint. A bard of the 16th century he had inherited a tradition of exaggeration and the interpolation of extraneous incident. He has done this well, but it will be seen later how the epic-theme has been jeopardised thereby. Here are two specimens of graphic descriptions:-
(Of a horse) "His steed Keshore, the gift of his lord,

fit to be yoked to the chariot of the sun, of the blood of Iraq, like a wave of the sea, his ear the lance's point, his eye soft as that of the deer, his mane like the rippling wave, from the bucklers of the slain his hoof struck fire as he bore the bard to the battle"

(Of a marriage) "The women raised the song of joy; saffron vestments are displayed. Saṅyogitā appeared like a heavenly Apsarā. The sacred book was opened at the Rohiṇī Nakshatra, the Mekh Sakrānta, the Indram-a Yog. The Sun was in the eighth house, the Moon and Mercury in the seventh, Brihaspat in the third, Saturn and Rāhu in the fourth and Mars in the first, the place of progeny. This eclipse was ended by the gifts of the Rāthore Prithirāj. The stream of the sword had passed. ⁴⁰ "

Treatment of Nature: - The poet appears to be not without some feeling for Nature, though his figures drawn from it are on the whole conventional however aptly applied to his purpose. Occasionally he compares some aspect of Nature to a battle-scene. "The clouds cover the sky and so it becomes dark in the rainy season. In the battle-field a similar darkness prevails, due to the weapons as they fall and the dense masses of troops.

40. These passages are ^{from} the translation by Tod in
Vow of Saṅyogitā.

Like lightning the swords are shining here and the
thunder resembles the roar of elephants " ⁴¹

Sometimes he becomes a pedantic worshipper of Nature.

The Sun gives light even to the Moon. It does away with
the darkness. It is respected even by Brahma and

Visnu. It moves all over the sky on a single-wheeled

chariot. ⁴² The following is splendid in declamation ,

if its figures are somewhat overwrought. When

Prithīrāj wishes to set out to bring Sanyogita Queen

Pundarā tries to dissuade him , saying : "Long are

the days, the nights are short, the water shrunk up,

the fires of heaven kindled. The traveller at the sight
of sun-rise takes refuge in the shade, his mind bewildered,

the wind send up showers of flame; lakes are dried up

and the fish quivering expire. The God of Love has

turned anchorite; stripped of verdure are the trees,

Oh, husband beloved, at such a time proceed not! " ⁴³

~~To all his hater,~~ As the winter is passing the daughter

of Hammīr would detain him: "The season of joy has

approached, but without thee, the sound of the cuckoo is

painful to my ear, the hum of the bee as the voice of

a foe. Oh, beloved! though the blossoms of the "Ambā" are

like the forms of the God of Love, yet without thee it

ceases to be a season of joy" ⁴⁴

41. नाम नाम जिय पूरन प्रियाम। तडित लेन धुवकी दूर धाम।

गर्जित सिंह अणस सुबहु। करनि भट्टिजा होते जिन मरु॥ ^{43.}

42. सरद इंद प्रतिव्यंभ। तिमिर तोरन गयंद दार॥ (V. 185 ch. 52)

44. Tod's translation "The Vow of Sanyogita"

नृप श्रीवम प्रिह सुख मर।

(V. 16-17, ch. 61)

It will be admitted that the bard , the follower of war, had power to turn ~~to~~ good account imagery whether conventional or the product of his own imagination .

Characterisation : - His stage is too disturbed with scenes of battle to allow of much characterisation, except in the scattered accounts of Prithīrāj. At his side are the famous male characters, Someśwar, Anaṅgpāl, Rāval Samar Singh, Kaṅh, Dhīr Puṇḍīr, and Caṇḍ. The female characters are mainly his wives.

The other characters are his enemies or their allies, viz. Bhora-Bhīmaṅg, the king of Gujṛāt; Nāhar Rāi, the king of Mandover; Shahābu'd-Dīn Gorī; Kumodmani, the king of Kumayū; Jaicand, the king of Kannauj; Bhīm, the king of Ujjain; Parimāl, the king of Mahobā. All of them have been defeated by him save Shahābu'd-Dīn, a doughty warrior:

" नागभूमि सिर तजै । चंद छंडै मुचंद कल ॥
कलिन भान रुग्गइ । पथ्य मुक्कै सुगान दल ॥

मुक्कै ज जोग गोविंद ऊ । कर फिरस्त छंडै गुनह ॥
रत्ते वीर छंडै जदपि । साहिब कर मुक्कै मनह ॥

(V. 63, ch. 51)

Prithīrāj himself is strongly drawn. He was the last Hindu king who fought stubbornly to defend his land from the Muslim invader. Though his love of pleasure and his lasciviousness lessened his capacity for statecraft and warring, yet his qualities were greater than his defects.

He held till the last to certain Hindu ideals. He gave shelter to a Muslim refugee, knowing that thereby he risked offending Shahābu'd-Dīn. He pardoned the defeated Shahābu'd-Dīn several times; and in Rāso he valiantly incurred death by killing his enemy in the latter's own court.

Supernatural Element: - The poet has taken much help of the Supernatural. The instances may be grouped according to their sources:

- (1) Mythology.
- (2) Folk Tales.
- (3) Superstitions.
- (4) A mixture of all three.

(1) The greatest role of the Supernatural comes from Hindu mythology. (a) Indra has been notorious since the Vedic era for jealousy of another's prosperity. He was so in the case of Harīś' Chandra, a king of Ayodhyā, and Bāli, the demon king. In Rāso he was

envious of Prithīrāj's prosperity, and sent a Gaṇḍharva to create enmity between him and Jaicand, to bring about the ruin of the former. In a similar way Saraswatī is sent in Rām-carit-mānas, to change the mind of Kaikei in *favour* ~~of~~ the exile of Rām.

(b) The Ethereal Voice : - This voice from above has often entered into the old mythology. In this work it told of the victory of Cand in the court of
45
Shahābu'd-Dīn.

(c) Gods are supposed to give "Darśan" to those with whom they are pleased. In this work Prithīrāj gets a glimpse of Śiva and Hanumān (vs. 263 and 268, ch. LXI).

(2) There are a number of tales which relate how a certain person met with a saint and was given miraculous powers by him. Here Cand meets a Ṛṣi who grants him the power to produce 52 warriors. The other miraculous tales are : -

(1) The digging ~~up~~ of treasure.

(2) The story of the ~~e~~lephants.

(1) A treasure was stated to lie in the forest of Nāgore. Prithīrāj and a friend went there. First of all an image was broken and then they had to fight a demon. When the place had been dug up a stone-built house was discovered and a golden and bejewelled swing was seen and
46
a gold doll playing on a flute and dancing "

(b) The elephants demolished the garden of the sage Dīrgha-Tapa; on account of his curse they became weak and entered into the service of men. Indra grew jealous of the attention given to them by a saint and Apsarā Rambhā was sent to allure the saint, but he cursed her and she was turned into a female elephant.⁴⁷

(3) Superstitions:- Superstitions grew stronger among ~~Hindus~~ under the for them debilitating Muslim rule. They worshipped a number of gods and goddesses. In Rāso Cand is said to get help from a goddess. Likewise the belief in auspicious omens plays a considerable part in this work. Rājput warriors always looked out for auspicious omens before starting on any venture.⁴⁸ Some of the more curiously auspicious are the falling of greens, and the sight of a woman with a pot of water; and of the inauspicious, the sight of a woman with an unfilled waterpot.

(4) Such a mixture is seen in the account of the origin of the Cathāns from Ābū yagya ~~Kuṇḍa~~. The long account begins with the mythological story of Jan-mejaya, as mentioned in Mahābhārata. Into it are woven such stories

47. Rāso ,v.4-8. ch.27.

48. Rāso ,v.69-71. ch.9.

as that of saint Gālav and his disciple Uttang, and also folk tales and superstitions.

Figures of Speech : - This poet has not set out to adorn his work with figures of speech. Where they do appear they are aptly employed, e.g. on pages, 764, 765, 774, 821, 977, 1134, 987, 1135, 1279, 1304, 1305, 1418, 1455, etc.

At one place he has likened the battlefield to black raincloud, at another a woman to Spring. He has used various traditional subjects of similes, such as the lotus, trees, the sun and moon, shadows and shades, raindrops, serpents and deities. His Alankārās do not mar the beauty of his poems but help to a great extent to their understanding and are an aid to beauty.

Its Form : - The poem contains 69 cantos or chapters comprising about 100,000 verses. The cantos are often designated according to their principal theme, e.g. पद्मनाभते, ०.०. रेवातर . Its commonest metres are Sāṭak, Kavitt, Dūhā, Caupāī, Trotak, Gāhā, and Bhujāṅgī. Sāṭak like the Sloka begins a narrative well, and the Kavitt is well fitted to develop effectively a heroic "flavour". The Caupāī is admirably suited to narrative; it is light and quick and can keep the tale from dragging. The Dūhā fills a similar function to that of the Greek

chorus, it can bridge a span of days or express proverbial wisdom, and so help to knit the several strands of the theme. Trotak conveys joy or pathos or other sentiment. Gāhā takes up a question or solves a problem, and Bhujāngī utters a challenge to an opponent. The metres are not so changeable as in Rām-Cāndrikā nor have they the settled precision of Rām-Carit-Mānas, which ensured a calmer atmosphere when wordly antagonisms did not enter and man's soul faced great spiritual issues.

As an Epic : - The work satisfies the main requirements of an epic, inasmuch as it deals continuously with the life-story of Prithīrāj, a Kshattria king, a hero in action, whose conduct reached between its merits and demerits, the mean of manly virtue held to be the standard of its time; and, a further condition, it deals with many phases of life and nature.

Development of Indian Warfare till Rāso

The earliest accounts of warfare in India are traced in the Rgveda. In the battle between Indra and Vṛtrāsura a vajra (a ^{thunderbolt} ~~projectile~~) ¹ was used to kill the latter. In all the Vedās Viṣṇu has been described as the long-stepping god, equipped with bow and arrows. By this time the Aryans had emerged from their primitive condition and had need of weapons of offence and defence ² Viṣṇu's bow and arrows mark a great advance in this direction. Varuṇa had a "pāś" or noose and Śiva had a "śula" or trident. A quotation from "Tattiriya Āraṇyak" says of the origin of the bow and arrow : "Viṣṇu departed with fame and the gods followed him, seeking to obtain fame. From his left hand a bow was produced and from his right arrows, Hence the bow and arrow have a divine origin. They were many ³ but could not overcome him though he was only one" In the Vedic period horses were ridden in the saddle ⁴ and driven in the chariots of warriors. Later, in the Brāhmaṇic period also, bows and arrows remained the

-
1. अपात् अहस्तः। अहन्त्यत्। इन्द्रं। आ। अस्य वज्रं।
अक्षि। सानौ। जघान। (Rg. by Maxmüller), 2. युजे रथं शत्रुवरां हरिभ्यामुप ब्रह्मरिणो जुजुषाराम रथु।
विनायिष्ठस्य शैदसी महिर्विन्दो वृत्राण्य प्रती जघन्वान्।।
K. 41

3. Muir's Sans. Texts. Vol. IV.

4. आनी नावा मतीजां यातं पाण्य गंतवे।
युजायान् शिपिना रथं। (Rg. by Max. 1. 64).

(Atkar. S. ch. 20-3)

main weapons and chariots the main conveyances.

(In the Mahābhārata, Kṛṣṇa like Achilles of the Greeks, was wounded by an arrow in the one vulnerable part which would prove a mortal wound). By the time of Rāmāyaṇa a certain amount of organisation of troops in the field had developed. The army was arranged in divisions. The actual numbers of a division are as follows : infantry 109000, cavalry 65000; elephants numbered 21000, and chariots 21000. These figures seem exaggerated as the army of Rām is said to have 18 such divisions. In Mahābhārata, too, Pāṇḍavās are said to have seven such divisions and Kauravās eleven at the beginning ⁶. The preliminary to war was the dispatch of an ultimatum such as the Kauravās sent to the Pāṇḍavās with abusive speech. The envoy was returned with words no less abusive from their side. Similarly Aṅgaḍ was dispatched by Rām to Rāvana's court. In the lack of a favourable response the army attacked the enemy's front without further warning. The divisions were distributed among various groups, headed by gallant fighters and these were posted at places of importance according to

5. महाहविषाह वैदेवा वृत्रजघ्नुस्तेनैव व्यजयन्त ये यमेशा विजित रथं याने वैषा
तास्मिन्संग्राम इषव आर्चन् स्तानेव तच्छ्रुत्या न्व्यवृहन्त तानिहरन्त-.....

(Kāṇva's Sātkath Brāhmaṇa by Caland 1963)

6. H.A.I. p. 139.

the status of their chiefs. Battles were mainly decided by the simple combat between eminent warriors of both the parties. The fights between Lakshmana and Meghnād, and Rām and Rāvana are instances of such. Chariots were the most usual vehicles at that time. Besides the customary bow and arrow other weapons employed were the club (gadā), favoured by Hanuman and other monkeys; the sword (used sometimes by Rāvana and Meghnād); the spear (śakti); the axe (Parasū), the favourite weapon of Paraśuram; the hammer (Mudgar), the discus (cakra). The chariots had room for two persons, the warrior and the driver, and both were legitimate prey. Sometimes two warriors rode in the same chariot, as Rām and Lakshmana. The chariots too were an object of attack, and we find that Rām and Rāvana were placed at a great disadvantage owing to the destruction of their chariots. Fighting started in the morning and ended at sunset. At sunrise both sides renewed the engagement. Till the time of Mahābhārata the rules of chivalry demanded that horsemen should fight against the horsemen, those on elephants against elephants and so on. Heroes still used chariots:

सेनयोः भयोर्मध्ये रथं स्थापय मेऽव्युत ॥ २॥ ५॥
(the gītā)

7. मृगशैः परैः शूलैः सुतोक्षीञ्च परश्वदोः।
खड्गैश्चक्रै रथस्थैश्च आज्ञानैः सतोक्षीः।
शालिभिः परैश्चोदरै रतिमानैश्च वृक्षैः।
गदाभिः सुसैनैः वज्रैः गृहीतैः भीमैश्च ॥ १॥ valmiki's
B. 3/22/18-19

↓
The writer of Tabaqāt Nāsirī, describing the battle between Prithīrāj and Shahābu'd-Dīn Gorī says "The Sultān attacked Rājā Govinda Rāē of Delhi who was seated on an elephant and knocked out two of his teeth with a lance. The Rājā hurled a stone that severely wounded the Sultān's head " ⁸ Swords and lances were the common weapons, but as in this case, stones were employed as missiles. The chariot was by this time out of favour. A different technique was employed by the Muslims. Until fairly recent times ^{elephants} they have been often employed on the battlefield, though now their use has ceased as they readily stampede. An interesting matter of tactics is the statement in Rāso that Prithīrāj when hard pressed drew up his men in four-square formation the better to resist the charge of the cavalry and elephants. Many of his soldiers were trampled down inside the square.

8. See J.R.A.S., 1873.

The sword and the lance have since long centuries been favourite weapons. Indian blades made in the Punjab and swords, made in Sylhet, had a reputation that long continued in poetry. Guerilla tactics have always been popular with hill men, who are thus spared the risks of large concentrations. But in the field a large scale disposition was necessary. In Rāso there is mention of the crescent formation, i.e. two flanks in advance of the centre; this and the like was the Hindu mode of attack.

Muslim armies had a vanguard, a right and left wing and a centre. In Rāso charges on horses, and elephants were made. ^{the} Horse has been an old friend of ~~the~~ warrior. The story of the elephants of Purā against Alexander is wellknown. The poet of Rāso describes the fighting between Jaichand and Prithirāj and, ^{Prithirāj and} Shahābu'd-Dīn. In the former he ^{speaks of} mentions only the above-mentioned weapons, in the latter ^{also} of big guns, and ammunition. The ^{mention} of these is an anachronism. Even into the Mahābhārata they have been introduced: "Armed with instruments which vomited iron balls and bullets from their throats and with machines that propelled large stones and rockets, they rushed forward to strike Kṛṣṇa." ¹⁰

9. उडै जंत्र गोरी नर नारी धारी। धके मंत मंते गिरे जयुं प्रदारी।
(Rāso V.10, ch.13.)

In Raso's cannonade the names given are hathnāvi
gaibūr, etc. But gunpowder was not introduced into the
Deccan till the close of the 15th or the beginning of
the 16th century.¹¹

11. Introduction to Bīdar, by Ghulām Yazdanī (1948);
Supra, p.35

The Last Stage of Bardic Poetry: The treasures of 1.
Rājasthānī literature were ransacked by Col. James Tod
The Bardic records of the princes of states like Mārwar, and Mewar yielded the epic material of the longer heroic stories recorded in the "Vacanikās". The Hindi bards of this period did not sing of those in whose courts they lived, but rendered in song a story of a gory-battlefield. The last famous one in this style was the Vacanikā by Jāgo, which told of the battle of Ujjain.

Jāgo's had as a model the Vacanikā Acal Dāsā Khicī
Rī by Śiva Dāsā, in which was celebrated the courageous struggle of Acal Dās in defence of his strong-hold in the first half of the 15th century. He died heroically 2.
fighting against the forces of the Pātisāha of Mandev.
This work belonged to the old Dingal period, and its style is somewhat uncouth. Another source of inspiration 3.
Dr. Tessitori found in the Gaja Rūpikā, which narrates the adventures in the battlefield of Rājā Gaj Singh of Jodhpur, father of Jaswant Singh.

There is another poem Ratan Rāso, by Sādhu 4
Kumbhakarna, which gives an account of the battle of

-
1. Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān (ed. Crooke) Vol. 1. p. 60.
 2. Vacanikā Rāthora Ratan. Ed. L.P. Tessitori.
 3. ibid. 4. ibid.

Ujjain. It has no connection with the Vacānikā of Jāgo, and is in the Ṣiṅgal dialect.

Vacānikā Rāṭhōra Ratan Sīṅgh Jī Rī Maṭṭhesādasotā Rī :-

It has been said of this work that "There is hardly any Cāran of ordinary learning and reputation, who has not in his collection of books, a manuscript copy⁵ of the Vacānikā"

Its Author: - The name of its author, as given in the last stanza of the work (265) and confirmed by tradition is Jāgo, an abbreviation of Jaga Mala. He was a Cāran of the Khīriya clan. The name of the father of our author is not given here, not in any other work, but as a result of his researches Dr. Tessitore⁵ believed Jāgo to have been a servant at the court of Ratan Sīṅgh of Ratlām. Rām Sīṅgh, after the death of his elder brother Ratan Sīṅgh, granted Jāgo two villages of Almiyo and Derī in the territory of Ratalām, which continued to be held by his descendants until the year 1903 A.D. Jāgo is believed to have died at Ratlām, but in what year is not known.

The Story of Vacānikā: - The Vacānikā commemorates the battle of Ujjain, in which Mahārājā Jaswant Sīṅgh of Jodhpur, a leader of the Imperial army made an attempt to withstand the joint forces of Aurangzeb and Murād, the

two rebel sons of Shāh Jahān, who were marching on Āgrā (1658 A.D.). The Imperial army was defeated and Jaswānt Singh had to retire into the desert in his own country. The Rājputs had fought bravely, and among those of them who sacrificed their life on that day was Ratā^ñ Singh, Rājāh of Ratlām in Mālawā, and this poem celebrates particularly his bravery and death. It belongs to a date closely following that of the battle , c. 1660.

Its Language : - There are two dialects used by the bards of Rājputānā in their poetical compositions, Dingal and Pingal. This Vacanikā is written in the former.⁶ Dr. Tessitori divides Dingal into two forms, an old and a modern. He further says that Rājasthānī literature till the end of the 16th century is said to have been written in old Dingal and the later in modern Pingal. This Vacanikā however is in the old form. But signs of transition are apparent. For example the diphthongs ai and au are now e and o. The vocabulary of the bards has remained the same. But some uncommon words, like ~~here~~, Ghurasa, Javadhi, Saradhū, occur in the Vacanikā.

Its Form : - A "Vacanikā" is a work in rhymed prose; ~~such~~ is known by this name in Dingal. "It is a

rhymed prose governed by no rules except that each phrase or sentence in it, no matter whether long or short, is required⁷ to rhyme with the next phrase or sentence.⁷ The chief verse forms used in this Vacanikā are Dūhā, Chappaya, Kavitt, and Gāhās. Chandas in it are mainly of the Bhujangī variety, based on Gaj Rūpak by Adhokīśano.

Literary Value : - Though this Vacanikā may not occupy a high place in the literature yet, in the words of Dr. Tessitori, "It is as elaborate in form as any of the poems of the highest repute"⁸ It does not satisfy⁸ the conditions of the epic, and its main interest is as a relic of the last stage of the poetry of the heroic age of Hindi.

^{Previous} ~~Second~~ to it in time, ^{and} ~~but~~ first in repute and worth, comes Veli Kīśan Rū ~~Amīnī Rī~~ by Prithīrāj which has won praise from both Western and Eastern critics. It represents a highly developed form of bardic poetry in its last stage.

Its Author : - Prithīrāj was a poet warrior at the court of the Moghul Emperor Akbar (r.1562-1605)

7. Ibid. p. 6.

8. Ibid. p.8.

He was a brother of Rājā Rāi Singh of Bīkāner, and was born about 1550 A.D. He took part in the Imperial expedition against Mīrzā Hākim of Kabul. This was probably the second expedition of 1580, which Akbar made against Hākim, when he forced him to submission. His gallantry won him a fief in Gujarānā. But it was his verse that won him the greatest fame. He was a "cavalier", and troubadour and pious", he was honoured in his life-time as a saint; he was a poet who sang the praises of Kṛṣṇa and was at the same time a warrior in the campaigns of Akbar. He was a contemporary of Tulsī Dās, and it is of further interest to note that each of these penned his master-piece under a strong religious stimulus, the difference being in the object of their devotion.

The Story : In ^{verse} ~~the~~ V. 291, the poet tells of the origin of his story. It has been taken from Śrīmad-Bhāgawat, chs. 52 to 55. However the story begins ⁱⁿ ~~with~~ the court of Bhīma, father of Rukmīṇī, firstly as ^{his} regarding women as superior to men, and secondly ~~as~~ his purpose of making his poem rhetorical. Rukmīṇī grows up with all the charm of a young maiden. Then her brother's desires to give her hand in marriage to Śīsupāl, contrary to her wishes and to those of her

parents. Rukmiṇī is in love with Kṛṣṇa and sends word to him. In the mean-time Śiśupāl comes to claim her hand. She elopes with her lover, Śiśupāl follows them and fights with Kṛṣṇa, but is defeated. Kṛṣṇa takes her home and they get married with Brāhmanic ritual. The poem concludes after the birth of a son. At the close the poet praises his book and calls it "Kām-Dhenu", for there is no blessing which it cannot bestow on its readers.

Literary Value : - As mentioned above, it is one of the best specimens of Rājasthānī literature. "The great merit of the poem is in the combination of a delightful genuineness and naturalness of expression,⁹ with the most rigorous elaborateness of the style" Dr. Tessitort¹⁰ considers that it refutes the opinion of those who maintain that Dingal is "too harsh for erotic or idyllic subjects, and only ~~fit~~ for heroic themes"

Veli must be classified as a short narrative poem since it does not fulfil the conditions of an epic. According to Daṇḍin and Kavirāj Viśwanāth, " A short narrative poem is a short form of an epic where one

9. Introduction to Veli.

10. Ibid.

aspect and one "flavour" have been developed",¹¹
and the Veli is covered by this definition.
Though it follows the Saṁskṛit epics in the beginning
in as much as it opens with prayers to the deity and
its story is centred round the great figures of Kṛṣṇa
and Rukmiṇī, and it deals with many aspects of life
and Nature, yet it cannot be classed as an epic, since
it contains only one chapter and in place of eight.
(~~per Sāhitya~~). It is a short narrative poem in epic
manner, and is without sufficient epic intention.

III. THE SŪFĪ AGE: PADUMĀVATĪ as representative epic.

Introduction (From the Bardic Age to Jāyasī): -

With the Bardic age ended the glory of Hindu rule and culture in India. Muslim sovereignty by this time was well established. Before the eyes of the Hindus their temples were destroyed, images broken, priests disrespected and they themselves ^{made} helpless, and gloom prevailed in their community. Their only solace was to pray for God's mercy and aid. Such was the political situation.

Religion had fallen on evil days. The masses were victims of superstitions. From the beginning their religion rested on the three main bases of action, knowledge and devotion. ~~With~~ these three was combined the idea of self-sacrifice. The absence of one of them in any age destroyed the soundness of the faith. Without action religion becomes quietist, in the absence of knowledge it is blind, without devotion it is soul^{le}less. Very few are in possession of knowledge; action and devotion alone are really available to the common people.

Among sectarians the Nāthpanthīs and Vajrayānī saints indulged in false penances to the neglect of other duties of religion. They misled people with their false mysticism and its wonders. Their doctrines had no place for love and devotion. Fortunately the learned stood fast by the ideals of Vedānta, and there were some poets whose verses moved men to a piety and devotion that influenced Muslims *also*.

These poets spoke of a God comprehensible to them.

Rāmānujācārya, Vallabhācārya, and Rāmānand instituted their own rites of devotion and some of their disciples have enriched poetical literature.

Some saints combined the false penances referred to above with devotion in one tenet. Nāndev, a famous saint of the Deccan, adopted it and admitted into the circle of adherents ~~to~~ both Hindus and Muslims. After him Kabīr gave definite shape to it and the Nirguṇ-Pānth emerged.

Kabīr was influenced by Vedāntism in his belief in one God, and in his advocacy of devotion ~~he~~ followed Sūfism, ~~and~~ Vedāntism does not acknowledge a formless Supreme Being as the object of worship and Kabīr did not accept this philosophy as he believed in a god without ^{yet worshipable} form. Nānak, Dādū and Matūk Dās followed him and spread his teaching among the masses.

The Nirguṇ-Pānth of Kabīr inculcated both devotion and knowledge (of God), but the penances remained the same ^{those the} as of Nāthpānthīs. Next there sprang up a school of saints who worshipped God in human form. Under this influence were composed the poems of the Rāmā^{ai}te and Kṛṣṇa-cults. It will be seen later how Tulsī Dās heralded the path of devotion in his life of Rām.¹

This late school was called Sagun-Paṇṭh.

These two creeds (Sagun and Nirgun) continued from 15th till 17th century. In the long list of poets connected with them those of Nirgun stand first. There were two main divisions among them according as they placed the emphasis on knowledge or love. As the poets of the first category did not compose any epic-narrative, interest here lies in those of the second. The latter established the greatness of love through imaginary tales. Through worldly love they revealed the path of love towards God. These tales were well-known to the mass of the Hindus. In their main features they show how man shares life in common with the trees and birds and thus prove the unity of all life.

A story of this kind was first employed by Īśwar Dās in Satyavati-Kathā in the reign of King Sikandar Shāh of Delhi. It was written in Dohās and Caupāis, and begins with a conversation in Paurāṇic style. A Dohā follows each five Caupāis, and there are 58 Dohās in all. Its language is Avadhī. Its language and the style were followed by the Ṣufī poets.

It may be pointed out here that this style of Dohās and Caupāis originated in Apabhraṃśa-literature. Some six poems, called Rāsos, were written in Apabhraṃśa. Jain Merutang and his contemporaries left much for the writers of the later days as models to follow. Bhavi - Sayatt-

Kahā is a specimen of this style and Hindi owes much to this literature. Sufism is tolerant, and its absorption in meditation on divine love made it respected among Hindus as well. The first of the Sūfī poets was Kutban, who wrote Mrgāvati, in which the love-story of the prince of Candranagar and Mrgavati, the daughter of Rupmurārī of Kañchan, is described. The poet has shown the difficulties and sacrifices on the path of love, and spoken of the divine love. Sūfism enters at some places.

The next Sūfī poet is Manjhan, who composed a similar work, Madhumālatī, but better and larger though incomplete.

It deals with the romance of Manohar, son of the king of Kanesar, and Madhumālatī, a princess of Mahāras.

In the work there are some supernatural elements. The storm, Madhumālatī's conversion into a bird, etc., show how Sūfī poetry adopted this element from Hindu sources.

This is the more important to note as such elements are found in Jāyasī's epic. The Sūfī conception of all-pervading love enters into the tale. The pain arising from the separation from the Beloved (God) is of the very fibre of Sūfī romanticism. When a lover experiences this pain he sees all the world as it really is; pain permeates it and all within it. Manjhan's example was productive of other such poems in Hindi, foremost of which is the Padumāvati. Jāyasī in this work has mentioned five of these by name, of which only two are extant, Mrgāvati and Madhumālatī.

The Poet: - Malik M. Jāyasī was a disciple of a famous saint Shaikh Muhyi'd-Dīn and lived in Jāyas in Avadh. He wrote the Padumāvati in the time of ^{Sh}Sersāh about 1540 A.D. Not much is known of him except some references in stories, current at that time. He was a great Sūfī saint, and led a very pious life. He was famous for the boons he bestowed; after one such favour to the Rājā of Amethī, a son was born to the Rājā. Some of the manuscripts of Padumāvati are in Persian character, and so it has come about that the date of composition has occasionally been read 927 A.H. for 947, the earlier date does not fall within the period of ^{Sh}Sersāh (r.946 - 52 A.H.) An old translation of Padumāvati in Bengali confirms the earlier date. Some think that probably Jāyasī began writing in 927 and went on till 947, but the argumentation seems useless in view of the fact that the numerals for "two" and "four" could easily be confused in Persian. Sudhākar Dwivedi's research gives Ghazipur, U.P., as the place where Jāyasī was born.

Jāyasī has said of himself that he was one-eyed, an infirmity at which others sometimes jested. He has praised the first four Caliphs which indicates that he was a Sunnī Muslim. The to - name "Malik" was

was added to his name Mohammad from respect, and as he lived in Jāyas, he took as Nisbat Jāyasī; thus his full designation is Malik Mohammad Jāyasī. He wrote two books Padumāvati and Akharāvati. The latter contains Caupāis ^{and Dohās} arranged in ~~Alphabetical~~ ^{alternate} order and dealing with God and his creatures, and the love between them. But Jāyasī's fame rests on the former, which speaks of the soul's highest aspirations and the pain of separation from God.

The Story: - Padumāvati, the daughter of King Gandharvasen of Singhal, was peerless in beauty and qualities and no suitable match for her could be found. She had a parrot, named Hirāman which was very learned and could speak fluently. One day while it was telling Padumāvati of the difficulty of finding a suitable match ~~for~~ her, the king overheard it and became angry. The next day the bird flew away from fear of the wrath of the king, but greatly to the sorrow of Padumāvati. It was captured by a fowler, who sold it to a Brāhmaṇa of Cittaur. Raja Ratan, ~~son~~ of Cittaur bought it from him for a ~~la~~ of rupees, and became very attached to it. One day while he was out hunting, Queen Nāgmātī, who was very proud of her beauty, asked the parrot, "Is there any more beautiful woman than ~~so~~?" At this the bird laughed and, describing the beauty of Padumāvati, said that there was as great a difference between them as between darkness

and light.

The Queen , fearing lest the king should get to hear of her, gave orders to kill the bird. But the maid-servant knowing of the king's fondness for it, hid it in her house. On his return he was irritated at not finding it. Then it was brought and it related the whole story. At the account of Padumāvati's beauty the king was overcome with longing, and after a little time he left in the garb of a mendicant to find her. Some steps ahead went the parrot Hīrāman, showing the path, and sixteen thousand princes accompanied the king, dressed like him in humble fashion. From Kaling the party sailed to Singhal. There Ratansen went to a temple and sat sunk in thought of Padumāvati. The parrot went to Padumāvati and told her about the Prince, and her heart at once became fired with love. Ratansen once saw her at worship in the temple. Afterwards acting on her instructions he attacked the fort of Gandharvasen, her father and with the help of Śiva and Hanumān, became victorious. Gandharvasen gave Padumāvati to Śiva who gave her in marriage to Ratansen. The young couple enjoyed many months in the fair isle of Singhal.

In Cittaur Nāgmati, a wife who has been mentioned earlier, sat miserable owing to the separation and sent messages by

birds to the Prince. He then returned to Cittaur with Padumāvatī and friends.

A learned Brāhmaṇa and astrologer Rāghav-Cetan, who had been exiled by Ratansen, came and informed 'Alāu'd-Dīn' Khiljī, then reigning at Delhi, of the great beauty of Padumāvatī. 'Alāu'd-Dīn attempted in vain to capture Cittaur in order to obtain possession of her. By a ruse however he succeeded in laying hold of Ratansen and held him as a hostage for her surrender. During her husband's imprisonment proposals of an insulting nature were made to her by one Devpāl, Rājā of Kumbhalner; these she repelled with scorn. Ratansen was subsequently released from his dungeon through the courage of Gorā and Bādal, the former of whom was killed in the battle which followed. As soon as Ratansen was again seated on his throne, he attacked Devpāl, to avenge the insult offered to his wife and there, after killing his enemy, he himself died due to mortal injury. His two wives became "Satī" with his corpse, and while their ashes were still warm the advance guard of 'Alau'd-Dīn's Army appeared at the gate of the city. It was nobly defended by Bādal, who fell fighting in the gate, but was finally taken and sacked. In the concluding verses of his work the poet declares it to be an allegory.

The story of Padumāvatī is founded on the historical facts of the siege of Cittaur, which is described by Tod

in the Annals, 1, 307.

Jāyasī has changed the name of the hero as given there from Bhīmasī to Ratan~~sen~~. From a comparison of the two accounts of the same story it is clear that the first half of Jāyasī's account is based on fiction, but the other on history, though it too contains some imaginary episodes, for example that of Devpāl.

The Language, General Remarks : - As it appears from his epic Jāyasī knew something of other Indian literatures and languages, but was not a savant. He obtained his knowledge more from personal contacts with good associates. An illustration of this is obvious in the frequent use of two words in Padumāvati, viz. Surya(sun), Ḡaṇḍ (moon); Ravi, Bhānu, and Diniar occur as alternatives for the former and Sasi, Sasi~~kar~~ and Mayank for the latter, but they have ~~so~~ many more synonyms in Sanskrit. Further he did not know much about Prosody as in his Caṃpāis at some places there are 16 syllables, at others 15 only, which is a defect. His Dohās mostly contain the wrong number of syllables.

Jāyasī adopted Avadhī as spoken in the villages for his work. Being a branch of Eastern Hindi it differs much from Kharībolī and Braj-bhāṣā .

In Avadhī the verb agrees with the subject in person,

number and case. Here ^{इनि}ini and ^{अनि}ani are added at the end of verbal forms, instead of ^{असि}asi or ^{अनि}ani. The character ^बba is used in the end of the future of all verbs. In Kharībolī and Brajbhāṣā the case-ending particles are added to the simple forms of the verbs, as ^{करनेको}kareneko, but in Avadhī these are added to the 1st Person singular of the Present tense of verbs as ^{खादूँ}khāimā. Sometimes these words are not found. Avadhī uses pronouns ending in ^अa, while Brajbhāṣā uses them ending in ^ओo. Jāyasī and Tulsī both use ^{है}hai, ^{जे}jei, ^{ते}tei as subjects of transitive verbs in the past tense but ^{को}ko, ^{यो}yo, ^{सो}so as subjects of the intransitive verbs. The adjectives and nouns in the genitive or possessive relation which end in ^आā and ^ओo in Brajbhāṣā and Kharībolī, end in ^आā in Avadhī. Here are a few specimens of the forms of words in Padumāvati : -

1. Nominal Forms : - Nouns in Padumāvati have been used mainly in two genders masculine and feminine. Inanimate objects too come under this rule.

11. Nouns in the masculine end in ^अa, as ^{सरग}sarag: in ^आā as ^{पहारा}pahārā, in ^उu as ^{सन्तु}saṁtu, in ^ऊū as ^{संसार}saṁsārū. Sometimes these nouns end in a diphthong as ^{सुऐ}suai (p. 32), ^{राजै}rājai (p. 44), ^{भादौ}bhādai (p. 240), the latter form is scarce in this work. A few nouns occur ending in ^ईī, as ^{बैरी}bairī (p. 286), ^{बिदेसी}bidesī, (p. 186),

111. Feminine nouns end in ^आā , ^इi, ^ईī , ^उu , ^ऊū ,
e.g. ^{बासना}bāsanā (p.159), ^{नागिनि}nāgini(p.161),
^{आली}ālī (p.187), ^{मीचु}mīchū, (p.225), ^{सीऊ}sīū(p.289).
Feminine nouns seldom end in ^ऊū .

IV. Jāyasī has seldom used compound words. When he does he observes the Persian order as ^{लीक-परवान}līk-Pakhān, the reverse of the Hindi order, ^{परवान-लीक}Pakhān-līk.

V. Sometimes he has used very old forms of words, as
^{दिनियर}diniar, ^{ससिहर}sasihar, ^{अथुय}Athuth, ^{भुवाल}bhuvāl,
^{पैठ}paith, ^{पुहुमि}puhumi.

III. Verbal Forms : -

1. Sometimes a verb has the double form, e.g., ^{करही}karehī, ^{करहि}karahī (present tense, p.28); ^{राखिय}rākhiya, ^{राखा}rākhā (Past tense p.140); ^{देब}deb, ^{देबी}debāī, (p.23 Future tense p.35 etc).

11. Verbs in the imperative mainly terminate in
^अa, ^आā, ^{इय}iya and ^औau. Such imperatives are found throughout the work.

111. The present participles generally end in ^{ता}ta, e.g. ^{जियत}jīyat (p.251), etc. Some times they end in ^{आति}ati in Fem. gender, e.g. ^{आनति}ānati (p.163).

IV. The Past Participles generally end in ङ्ग , ङ्ग ई ; e.g. करि (p.163), ओन्ही onaī , (p.173). The first form is more frequent than the latter.

(V) Sometimes हुँ hū or हिँ hī is used as the termination of verbs, showing a sense of respect or soliciting permission e.g. राखिहिँ rākhihī (p.27), होहु hoḥu (p.342); हुत hut has been used for Kharibolī था thā .

Adjectival Forms: -

1. Jāyasī has mostly employed similes and metaphors to illustrate the qualities of his characters, hence adjectives of quality are not so frequently used. He has changed their gender at only a few places; e.g. निरमल nirmal (p.14), अनूप Anūp (p.22).
2. Numeral adjectives have been frequently used; they mostly have their forms as in Kharibolī, e.g. एक ek (p.3), नव nav (p.19).
3. Sometimes the numerals have their Avadhī form as spoken in the villages, e.g. दुई dūi (p.36), चाहूँ cahū (p.91).

Other Forms: - Pronouns in Padumāvati retain most of the forms of the standard Avadhī. But the author has taken certain liberties with them; for instance the third personal pronouns have also been used as demonstrative and correlative pronouns as, जेहि jehi , तेहि tehi (p.110) Such post-positions have been used, as काहँ kahā , पै pai , कै kai , करि keri , सौ sau , etc. Adverbs have almost

the same form as in standard Avadhī. But when he requires it the poet adds to them हिं hī or हुं hū, e.g. जबाहिं Jabahī (p.120), कताहुं katahū (p.39). He has used some very popular proverbs, e.g. जो लागि अहे पिताकर राजू (p.27) (As long as the father remains the guardian); जोगिहिं बौद्ध काहु (p.108) (May bad luck fall upon the Yogī!)

Persian Words: - The language of Padumāvati has not been affected by the introducing of Persian or Arabic words. It is only where references to certain persons or events require it that he employs them. When he mentions the Prophet of Islam, the Muslim king, or his Shaikh he gives their names, such as मुहम्मद (Muhammad), उस्मान (Uṣmān), हातिम (Hātim) and चिश्ती Cīstī, and in connection with them he uses such terms as दुनयाई (dunyāī), आयत (āyat), दस्तगीर (dastgīr), Shaikh, गुराह (Gurāh), शेख (Shēkh), मुरशिद (Murshid). All these words occur in the first chapter, and in the entire remaining portion there are only a dozen of them, and these are Persian terms for coins, or towers or proper names, e.g. सरजा (Sarajā), आलाउद्दीन Alāu'd-Dīn, दिनार (dinār), बुरज (burj).

Literary Merits.

1. General Remarks : - Jāyasī was a true poet and most of his verses express the genuine emotions of the human heart. His pen portrays in masterly fashion joy and sorrow, and the splendours of earth and heaven. Some

of his best scenes depict the joyous play of the young maidens in Singhal, the difficulties in the path of love, Padumāvati's feelings for the Prince, her meeting with him, Nāgmatī's plight because of separation, Ratansen's anger at the Alan'd-Dīn's message, the noble part of Gorā and Bādāl, and the scene at the funeral pyre of Ratansen. The first half of the work is mainly of a romantic character, whereas in the latter half various phases of life have been described. But its style is rather rhetorical, and is not so spontaneous as that of Ram-Carit-Mānas of Tulsī.

His Idea of Poetry: -- Sufī poets made their poetry a medium of expression of divine love, and did not write for the sake of the art. Their's was so intimate a communication with God that one is sometimes astonished at the almost anthropomorphic expressions. The out-pouring of feeling had their first attention, not its form.

His Idea of Love: - Love has two aspects in Padumāvati, an ideal and a philosophical. The former is the first concern here.

Love springs up merely from hearing of the unique virtues of the beloved, as in the case of Ratansen, on hearing of Padumāvati from Hīrāman. This love was so great that separation from the beloved became unbearable. The ache of this separation can only be understood from experience of it. The condition of the parted lover is

worse for him than dying. To inspire love may, in the poet's view be an easy thing, but to safe-guard its sanctity is difficult. The ideal of love is very lofty and only attainable by those with true vision and aware of the sacrifice involved.

The anguish of separation is not amenable to any comforting;

उपजी पेस-पौर जेहि आउ ।
परबोधत होउ स्वयं मोक्षार्थ ॥
समस्त बात कहत विष जाना ॥
प्रेमक वचन सीठ वै माना ॥

(h. 59).

Love is telepathic; Padumāvatī is troubled in Singhal, even without having heard of Ratansen:

परी प्रेम बस गेहे बिचोरा ।
नीद न परै रेनि जौं सना ।
संज केवान्च जानु कोर लावा ॥
(h. 82).

"Journeys end in lovers' meeting" and now lover and beloved see each other in all things. This is the ideal love when there is total devotion, and this condition is the aim of a worshipper, and of the essence of Sūfism.

His Idea of Fate: - There are few utterances about Fate in this work. But the trend of the story, in combination with the few, shows that the poet has taken his idea of

Fate from Hindu tradition. Fate has been an obsessive idea since man's earliest days, but Hindus at the time of this tale were deeply depressed, and too dispirited to fight for their rights, hence their recourse to destiny. Success lay at its disposal and failure, too. These ideas were accepted by Jāyasī. He is glad at the expected birth of Padumāvati, and thrilled at the thought of her future. But since "Whatever is destined cannot be effaced"², so all the events in Padumāvati³ were preordained by the supernatural agent Fate.

Ratansen had love and courage enough to reach Singhal and gain Padumāvati, but still he looked towards God for success:

है मोहिं आस मिले कै,
जो मेरवै करता॥
(h. 46),

Similarly Nāgmati, on separation from her husband, bewails her plight and acknowledges the powerful hand of Fate.³ Padumāvati, when separated from her husband in the storm at sea, looks towards God and confesses that He is the cause of all that happens:

ॐ गोसाईं नू सिखनहार
सबके पीछे लोरि है साँटी।
ॐ गुरुवर नू बाउर-संधा।
लोहिं झोडि चित-खोरहिं बंधा॥ (h. 205)

2. See Nāgmati's letter to Ratansen (h. 23).

3. See Padumāvati, p. 172.

Admission of human frailty before the great ordainer⁴ could go no further.

His Power of Description:- Jāyasī is lavish of words in his descriptions whether of battle, (p.263), of seasons (ch.29), of horses (p.20-21) or of beauty (Padumavati's. ch.10), and he freely uses similes and metaphors. Exaggeration heightens the colour-scheme of his pen-pictures.

In Mahādev he describes a complete Nāthpanthī Yogī; he dwells at length on the aspects of the six seasons as known in India, explaining their effects on human wishes and ambitions. He excels in his account of Padumāvati: the tresses of her loosened hair shed darkness over earth and sky :

बेनी क्षोरि भार जो बारा।
सरग पतार होइ अंधियारा॥
कोवर कुटिल केस नज कोरे।
अहंरुह भरे भुजंग बैसारे॥
(ch. 47).

"The hairs coiled like serpents, and their fragrance rivalled that of the Malaya mountains with their sandal woods; her eye-brows are like a brace of arrows or the opposing armies of Rām and Rāvana (p.49) ". The torture of separation to Nāgmatī is effectively expressed. She cried all the year and there was none to pity her; in the meantime the blood, shed in her tears, made, "The flowers of the Palās tree red, and the Parval(a vegetable) ripe, and made the cleft in the wheat grains"⁴

4. तेहि दुख भये परस निषति। लोहू बारी उठे होइ रीति॥

परवर पाक, पार हिय गोई॥ (ch. 180).

The poet has applied bold colours to represent the pangs of separation. "Because of this flame "Nāgmatī, herself, was burnt and remained a black figure. This flame spread everywhere. From the earth it reached the sky. It was inextinguishable, and whosoever was under its effect, ran far straight ahead."⁵

Besides the "flavours" of rhetoric and pathos the heroic also stands out clear, as in his accounts of warriors and their warfare. When the armies of Ratansen and 'Alān d-Dīn battled together sky and earth looked like one. "Both sides stood firm, both were like the never breaking ~~stones~~ ^{rocks}. When elephants fought with elephants, it was as if mountains had engaged each other; they were fierce and violent. The heavens were overwhelmed by their trumpeting, and the earth wet with their blood-drops."

He includes in his picture varieties of trees, birds, fruits (p.13); the customs and dishes at a marriage-feast (pp.141-43); and a view of a royal house-hold. The seas too, of Hindu mythology appear (ch.15), and some astrological facts (ch.32). His information is extensive and varied, and his draughtsmanship is seen in massing his materials ^{in a} masterly fashion.

Treatment of Nature: - The poet has come close to Nature in his accounts of it, and seems to enjoy or be sad at what he describes. He seems to be standing by looking on at the various

5. नागमती है नाकर शनी।
जरी बिरह भई कोइल बानी॥
चाहूँ खंड छिटकी वह आगी। (1184)

scenes in a garden. When he mentions trees or birds, he seems to have been close to each of them. When he speaks about the sweetness or sourness of a fruit he appears to have⁶ tasted it. The garden-scene delights him, and the sounds of the parrot, *cātak*, cuckoo, *hārīl*, and crows are familiar⁷ to him. His characters' enjoyment of the seasons reflect his own.

His descriptions of Nature are for their own sake, and not with any philosophical motive. They are given either to convey an idea of the beauty of an object, or to depict the joy or sorrow of some character. Under the first kind come the accounts of gardens, trees, birds, and seas; under the second mention is made of certain birds but mostly of the seasons. The former kind is in evidence in his description of *Singhal* (ch. 2) and the conduct of *Ratansen*; and the second when telling of the pleasures of the princess *Padumāvati* and her maids, and the grief of forlorn *Nāgmatī*. To carry the latter's message a bird has been employed :

“ फिरी फिरी शेर कोइ नहिं डोला,
आधी राति बिहंगम बोला॥

चारु चक्र उजार भये, कोइ न सँदेसोटेक।
कहाँ बिरह दुख आपन, बैठि सुनहुँ दंड सब॥”
(h. 181).

6. फीरे आँख अति सज्जन सोहाये।
सौ अस को आधिक सिर नाये॥
(h. 131).

7. “ पीव पीव ” कर लाग ज पीहा।
“ तुही तुही ” कर गइरी जीहा॥
कुहूँ कुहूँ कर काइलि शला।
सौ भिंगराज बोलन बहु भाषा॥ (h. 13-14).

His adaptation of the seasons to the moods or situations of his characters is striking. Here are the illustrations : "(Padumāvati was with Ratansen)" "It was raining, and the months of the season were pleasant. Padumāvati had her cherished season. Sky and earth, both, looked charming. The voice of the cuckoo, the rows of doves and the coming of Bīrbahūtī (the rain-insect) all were amusing. The lightning flashed and it rained nicely. The noise of frogs and peacocks added to the cheerfulness. She was with her husband, and at the thunder's roar clasped him by his neck - "

"(Nāgmatī during separation)

चैत वसन्ता होइ धमरी । मोहि लेखे संसार उजारी ॥
पंचम बिरह पंचम मौर । स्वत होइ सगरी बन दोरै ॥
बूढ़े उठे सब तरि न पाता । भीति अजीठे देखु बन शता ॥
बौरै आग फरे सब लगे । सबहुँ आउ पाकत समगै ॥
(K. 171)

Characterisation: - The main theme of the poem being love, not a great deal of attention has been given to detail in the individual characters. Only those of Ratansen, Padumāvati and Nāgmatī are followed through several events and remain until the end. The parrot is mentioned only up to the marriage of Ratansen and Padumavati, and Rāghavcetan comes only till his work of investigating 'Alāud-Dīn finishes when the latter attacks Cittaur.

8. अरतु पावस बसै, पिउ आवा ।
सावन भादौ अधिक सुहावा ।
पदमावति चाहति अरतु फरि ।
गजन सोहावन भ्रामे सोहरि ॥
(K. 169)

Ratansen: - He is the celebrated Rājput hero of history, to which he is known as Bhīmsen. He fell in love with the beauty of Padumāvati from hearsay. To gain her he sets out as a mendicant to Siṅghal where she lived. His love makes him superior to all the hardships of the way. He sees Padumāvati then and is dazzled by her beauty. Unable to obtain her otherwise he attacks her father's fort, and is victorious, and wins her for his bride. A message from Nāgmatī recalls him to Gittaur⁹, where he rules for years with his two queens, till he had to face the forces of 'Alā'ud-Dīn who attacked him to carry off the beautiful young wife. Ratansen fights well but is deceived and imprisoned by the Muslim king. He is released from ^{captivity} ~~prison~~ by the gallant efforts of his wife and warriors, but dies later in a battle with Devpāl, who had tried to lure away his queen. Ratansen shows up as a romantic figure, enterprising where his love leads him and capable of great endurance for such a cause. His is a gallant love, but also a constant one; he is faithful where he has given his heart.

Padumāvati: - She was the fair princess of Siṅghal and many cherished a desire to look on her.¹⁰ At a loss for one to love, she confided her woe to a parrot, named Hirāman. She was distressed when the bird flew away from

9. कवि संदेशा निदेशम-चला।
वरी एक राजा गोहरना।
मा अतोप पुनि दिष्टि न आवा।।(१७७)

10. जग कोर दीष्टि न आने,
आदहि नेन आकास।।(१७८)

fear of the wrath of her father, When it returned with
 Ratansen her joy was full. Her true love makes her
 prepared to die at the stake with Ratansen and she
 gives all her allegiance to him when she marries him.
 She is infuriated at the loathsome suggestions made to
 her by 'Alām'd-Dīn and Devpāl. Faithful unto death
 she perished on her husband's funeral pyre.

From beginning to end her character is flawless
 except where she quarrels with Nāgmatī. ; here she
 exhibits some of the meanness incidental in the relationship
 of a co-wife.

Nāgmatī: - She behaves well till her pride is stung
 and her jealousy roused by the consciousness of a rival.
 In her impotent fury she prepares to kill something dear
 to her lord, the parrot. Her grief at his absence is
 real, but on his return at receipt of her message sent
 through a bird she again becomes jealous of Padumāvati
 and quarrels with her. At the bidding of her husband he
 she grows calm and restrained. Her remaining days she
 passes agreeably and eventually perishes on his pyre.

11. तोहि वियोग हीरामन आवा।
 पदमावति जानलुं जिउ पावा।
 (h. 86)

13. दीपक प्रीति पतंग जेऊँ, जन्म मिवाहु करेऊँ।
 नेव छावरी चहुँ पास चोर, कंठ लागे जिउ देऊँ।
 (h. 339)

15. जो बह सुखा भेदिर महुँ अहुर।
 कबहुँ बात राजा सनु कहई। (h. 39)

Pad. h. 220.

12. अब जो भोगि मरे भेटि नेहा।
 भोटि भोटि साप्य धरति गगेने हा।
 (h. 124)

14. सुनि पदमावति रिस न संभाषी।
 दुनो सवति भेलि पाह बईसी। (h. 220)

16. कुहुँ कुहुँ जस कोइल रोई।
 रक्त आसु धुंधुची बन बैई।
 (h. 180)

'Alān' d-Dīn and Rāghavcetan are both evilly minded; the latter behaved treacherously to acquire wealth, and the former is swayed by his lust to his own eventual destruction.

Gorā and Bādal are the two Rājput warriors who give up their lives in the cause of their Prince. Bādal leaves his newly married wife to enter into battle. Gorā in spite of his serious wounds fought till his end:

भौर कहा धनि गोर ! तू भ रावनराज ।
प्राति सेमरे अंगिके, पुरय देत है पांव ॥
(k-33)

Figures of Speech: - The poet is not fond of Alānkārās, but where they do occur, they fit in naturally.

Alliteration and repetition are not so common in this work. Similes and metaphors are in greater number, and it is in the latter that he has best succeeded. His similes are mainly of traditional type and original ones are few. An element of exaggeration has enabled him to lay greater emphasis where he wished. Here are a few examples of his rhetorical devices.

Alliteration: -

शिवत रक्तत भयउ मुखवाता ॥
तन भ पियर जकहो का बात ॥ (k-36)

In this *ra* has been used 4 times.

Repetition of words : - कौहु काहु न संभारे आपनि आपनि होइ ॥ (k-75)

Here *आपनि āpani* has been used twice.

Himiles: - (Padumāvati's) ~~teeth~~ ^{are} set in her mouth which look like jewels, and in between the dark skin shows; the teeth sometimes shine forth and are like the lightning flashes in the (dark) nights of Bhāḍō (September)" ¹⁸

Metaphor: - (Ratansen and Padumāvati become separated in the storm on their return journey; Ratansen says, "The black bee got the lotus and they were happy together. Meantime an elephant came and destroyed all the lotus plants." The meaning is that Ratansen and Padumāvati were happy together till the cruel storm snatched her away." ¹⁹

Supernatural Element: - The author has often introduced supernatural beings to accomplish some purpose. He takes these mainly from two sources, Hindu Mythology and popular tales and customs.

Under the first category came the sea-god and his daughter Lakshmi (p.201). The sea comes in the shape of a Brāhmaṇa (p.206).

Under the second comes the part played by the parrot; the rising of the garland in the pond (p.30); the predictions, which prove to be true, of the astrologers about Ratansen, (ch.6); superstitions (p.56); Pārvatī, Hanumān ^{and} Mahādev as helpers of

18 - दसन-चौक बैठे जनु होरा।
को बिद्व बिद्व शस्यम जमीरा॥
— — — — — ॥ (p.50).

19 - भँवर जो पावा कँवल कहँ,
मन-चौता बहु केलि।
भ्यार परा कोरु हस्ती,
दूर कीन्ह सो बेलि॥
(p.205).

Ratansen (p.127); a huge and dangerous demon that dragged Ratansen's boat (ch.33); etc.

Allegory in Padumāvati: - In the conclusion the author writes that his work has an allegorical signification.²⁰ Thus Cittaur is the body itself, Ratansen being or soul, Singhal the heart, and Padumāvati wisdom; the parrot Hiranman is the guru^{without whom}, none can realise formless deity; Nāgmatī is worldliness; Rāghavcetan represents the devil and 'Alau'd-Dīn is worldly attraction.

In his work Jāyasī has expatiated on the form of God and his omnipotence (pp. 205-6) and his existence in all the creatures (p.202), and appropriately made human love an illustration of that divine love through which this omnipotence and existence can be realised.^{21.}

He has given an "allegorical interpretation" of the narrative²² and to have purposed such from the beginning as an analysis of his ideas shows.

In Sūfism the lover is the representative of the soul, so this is correct as applied to Ratansen, and^{Cittaur's} being the body as Ratansen lived there. Padumāvati as wisdom living in Singhal, the heart, is contrary to the Sūfī idea.

Sūfīs admit four divisions of human faculties:

(1) Nafs (the senses). (2) ~~Qalb~~ (wisdom), (3) ~~Qalb~~ (the heart) (4) Rūh (the soul). Thus wisdom is not in the heart but has its separate identity.

20 - Pad. p.346.

21. Infra p.102.

22. English Literature Mediaeval (p.185), by W.P. Ker.

Further, the heart has been regarded by the Sūfīs as formless like the soul. So Sīṅhal is not suitably interpreted here as it is territorial. Further there is not much difference between worldliness (दुनिया-वादी) and worldly attraction (माया). Nāgmatī tried to resist Ratansen's going to seek Padumāvati and 'Alāw' d-Dīn wished to carry her away, and so in both cases there were attempts to deprive the soul of its wisdom. Further, nowhere is wisdom regarded as deity whose realisation the soul tries to achieve through love, so if Padumāvati remains wisdom, the attempts of Ratansen, the soul, would be futile. The role of the parrot as the guru would be in keeping with tradition. This idea has been accepted by Vālmiki and Vyās. Kabīr laid such emphasis on the guru:
 "करी सतसंग गुरुदेवसे चरन गहि,
 जासुके दरस ते भई भागै ।" (See R. Varma on Kabīr).

and later Tulsī accepted it: "बिनु गुरु होहिं कि ज्ञान,
 ज्ञान कि होहिं विराज बिनु" (Rem.uttar. 87).

But the guru leads the soul not merely to wisdom, but to true knowledge (of God), and wisdom is only a means to that end. The belief in the unity of God and the soul is one^a conception of Hindu philosophy and here God has been said to be beyond the wisdom (बुद्धि).²³ But as has been mentioned there runs an allegory throughout the work. This sense of allegory

23. मनसस्तु पशु बुद्धिर्गो बुद्धेः परंस्तु सः ।
 (The gītā ch. 3-42).

in Padumāvati is taken directly from Persian literature. This work of Jāyasī shows some influence of the Persian romantic Masnavi. There is also apparent and influence from such a renowned Sūfī work as the Masnavi Mantiqui²⁴ Tayr of Faridu' dīn 'Attār (About 1157 - 1229 A.D.), an allegorical poem of something over 4,600 couplets. Its subject is the quest of the birds for the mythical Sīmurgh, God "The Truth". It begins with the usual ~~dogmologies~~ dogmologies, including praise of God, of the Prophet, etc. The narrative portion of the poem comprised 45 "discourses" (Maqālāt) and a conclusion (Khātimā). It describes the birds' assembly and their choosing the Hoopoe, a bird celebrated since the time of Solomon among the Muslims, as their leader to conduct them on their quest. The Hoopoe harangues them in a long discourse, telling of the perilous road which they must traverse to reach the Sīmurgh. They pass in succession through seven valleys of ~~search~~ search (the stages of the path in Sūfism), ultimately purged of all self and purified by their trials, they find the Sīmurgh and in finding it they find themselves.

Jāyasī begins his narrative with similar invocations. In Padumāvati the parrot like the Hoopoe, leads the way of the lover Ratansen; it tells him of the troubles on the way to his beloved before they start. They had to cross

24. L.H. of P. by Prof. B^worne. pp. 508-9-12.

the seven seas, and afterwards Ratansen undergoes great hardships and obtains Padumāvati, the desired object of his search, and realises the Self. The story up to this point is the equivalent of about the first half of Padumāvati. Thus the allegory on the lines of the Persian Maṣnavi ends where Ratansen marries Padumāvati. And its later portion becomes more historical.

As an Epic: - Thus Padumāvati contains a famous story, with a renowned Rājput king for its hero; it deals with various phases of life and Nature, and illustrates a "symbolic attitude", in man's life. Jāyasi believed in a particular creed but it has not warped his judgment or tolerance and he has dealt most sympathetically with a Hindu story. He is pleased at the pleasure of Padumāvati and Ratansen, and sorry for Nāgmatī's self torture in separation, and deprecates Alauḍ-Dīn's attack on the Hindu prince. The greatness of his poem depends in great part on his breadth of mind and his sympathetic heart, and these qualities go to make Padumāvati one of the successful Hindi epics.

Sūfism in Padumāvati: - Sūfism was born soon after the death of the Prophet of Islam and proceeded on orthodox lines. It and its counterpart in Christianity, mysticism, have long been a subject of study, unremitting

in these days of psychological penetration into the deeper things of the mind.

The derivation of the name is now generally accepted to be from the Arabic ṣūf (wool)²⁶, ascetics wore such rough garments in their subjection of the flesh. It flourished most outside Arabia. In Iraq, a cockpit of many theories of life and faith, it came into contact with gnosticism, and in Persia with a speculative quality of mind. In the effort to study it as an outcome of Islam there has been an unpreparedness to look for contact with Indian philosophy; but trade and other connections with India were so many and so close that men reaching unto God could not ~~be~~ but influenced by Indian speculation. Sir William Jones writes of Ṣūfism: "A figurative mode of ~~expressing~~ of the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their Beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time ~~to time~~ immemorial in Asia; particularly among the Persian theists, both ancient Hūshangīs and modern Ṣūfīs, who seem to have borrowed it from ~~the~~ Indian philosophers of the Vēdāntā school"²⁷. This "figurative mode of expressing the fervour of devotion" is exemplified in the Hindi Ṣūfī poets, and Jāyasī shows just such devotion in his Padumāvati.

26. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Vol. XII., p. 10.

27. See, Intr. to the History of Ṣūfism, by Arberry, p. 9

The Sūfī state of feeling is picturesquely shown in Padumāvati: "Leaving that state (and its affairs) the Rājā became a mendicant and took with him a small Sārangi (the instrument)²⁸. He rubbed the ashed on his body and his soul was totally absorbed (in the love)". Thus a Sūfī surrenders all to become entirely devoted to love towards God. Ratansen in Padumāvati reaches such a state of single-minded devotion in which he is devoid of conflicting stimuli. "He has left all his kith and kin and to him now troubles and pleasures were alike."²⁹ This is the mystic state of Sūfīs as Sir Md. Iqbal says, "The mystic state brings us into contact with the total passage of reality in which all the diverse stimuli merge into one another."³⁰

The oneness of God with his creation (Monism) is different from the belief in God of an orthodox Muslim, (Monotheism). A Sūfī believes in an all-pervading God, but the creed of the orthodox Muslim is exoteric ; he believes in one omnipotent God, who is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. Sūfīs believe that the objects of sense are merely the outward form of the Great Spirit, hence they devote themselves to loving one, and thus they love all simultaneously. This idea of God and of love of Him is set forth in Padumāvati. The greater the devotion to the Beloved, the closer the relationship.

28. तज राज राजा आजीगी। श्री किंगरी कर गहेर बियोगी।
तज बिसंभर , मन बाउर जेहा। अकभा पैम, वरी सिरजहा। (p. 60)

29. छोड़ दि लोग कुटुब सब कोऊ। मये निनार
सुख दुख तजि दोऊ। (p. 63)

30. Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, 17-8 (1st. ed.)

Sūfīs believe in "Abiding after passing away". Jāyāsī says, "Until a person loses his identity, he cannot realise the cherished object"³¹ This means that true love requires the utmost sacrifice and it is through sacrifice that the desired object is gained.

Sūfīs traverse several stages to reach their goal. Before attaining to Fanā, the mystic seeker must traverse by slow stages, the tarīqat or path to reach haqīqat (reality), or the goal of union. The path comprises seven stages: repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God and satisfaction. It is through these stages that "the mystic passes from the contemplating self into one contemplated and attains to the state of union which is the goal of quest."³² Ratansen (the lover) traverses these stages to reach his desired object.³³

The element of quietism (riḡā) gave Sūfism a tolerant and peaceful tone. There is much discussion about the source of this element, but some scholars trace it to Indian ideals. Anyhow this spirit was in Jāyāsī; he mentions Hindu gods and

31. जी लोह आस हसत न कोरे। लो लोहे डेरत जवन सोरे ॥ (N:58)

32. Jāyāsī has mentioned these in Akhrāvāt : कही (सरीअत) चिस्ती पीर।
उच्चारित अस रूप सौ जहंगीर॥
साह 'हकीकत' परैन चुकी। पेठि मारफत
मार बुझुकी।

33. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam. p.29

goddesses with due respect. The late Prof. Browne writes, "Renunciation of self is the great lesson to be learned from Sūfism, and its first steps may be learned from a merely human love." With this spiritual outlook Padumāvati gives the message linking human love with the divine, and so touches the Hindu and Muslim hearts alike.

IV. THE RĀMĀITE AGE:- RĀM-CARIT-MĀNAS as representative epic.

INTRODUCTION

It was stated in the last chapter that the Sūfī-poets composed both short narrative poems and epic poetry. Their compositions, with their message of universal love symbolised in human, brought some comfort to both Muslims and Hindus, but it was a message of of quietism and endurance. The strength of Hindu chivalry had been broken in the long contests with the invaders. Many of their possessions had been looted and poverty was wide-spread; they were grown spiritless. seeing no end to foreign dominion or hope of prosperity. But the wisdom, temperance and justice of Akbar (v.1562-1605) created an encouraging atmosphere. His genius for government gave to the heterogeneous elements of which his empire was composed a unity and cohesion they had never possessed before. His deeds and his fame had long outlived him, but his name does not yet adorn any epic. "It may be noted", writes Grierson, "that the reign of the emperor Akbar coincided with that of Queen Elizabeth, and that the reigns of both these monarchs were signalised by an extraordinary outburst of literary vigour, nor indeed, if Tulsī-Dās and Sūr Dās were compared with Shakespear and Spencer would the India poets be found very far behind."¹

But there were influences quietly at work which helped to prepare the way for the man and the moment. For instance Ramanujāchārya (1016) A.D., with his philosophy of God as creator of all and into whom all merges, brought fervour into true devotion and into Hindi

1. The M.V.L. of Hindustān by Grierson p.34 (c.v).

poetry, and his teaching that devotion brought the worshipper near unto God spread rapidly. The chief deity of this movement was Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. In the 14th century Rāmāṇand stood forth as an exponent of the Rāma-creed, and, unlike Rāmānuja who had confined the path of devotion to the three higher classes, he removed the obstruction for any. He recognised the various caste divisions and functions, but the path of devotion he made open to all irrespective of class. "The teaching of Nāṇḍev in the Marāṭhā country, of Rāmāṇand and his famous disciple Kabīr in the North, and of Chaitanya in Bengal, to mention only a few outstanding names, had come as a message of life to many whom the philosophy of the schools on the one hand, and a life - less ceremonial on the other, had left hungry and dissatisfied."¹² The disciples of Rāmāṇand continued spreading as the articles of their faith devotion among the people and devotees sang the praises of their Lord Rām. This article was soon to have complete and perfect expression through the pen of Tulsī Dās (d. 1624 A.D.). His genius unfolded itself in all the varieties of Hindī poetry. Hindi language (Avadhi & Braj) and literature attained to maturity in his Rām-Charit-Mānas. In Dr. Grierson's words- "Pundits may talk of the Vedas and of the Upaniṣads, and a few may even study them; others may say they pin their faith on the Purāṇas, but to the vast majority of the people of

2. ^{Sixteenth} Century ^{Myth} by W.G. ^{Chap} Carr.

Hindustān, learned and unlearned alike, their sole norm of conduct is the so called Tulsī-Kṛit Rāmāṇa.³ Growse says that "The book is in everyone's hands from the court to the cottage and is read or heard by every class of the Hindu Community." 4

3. The M.V.L. of Hindustān, Ch. VI p.43.

4. Introduction to the trans. of Rām-Carit-Mānas.

Rām-Carit-Mānas

The Poet:- Information about his author, Goswāmī Tulsī Dās comes from two main sources, Gosāi Carit, by Bābā Benī Mādhav Dās one of his disciples, and Tulsī-Carit, by another disciple, Raghubar Dās. There has been much discussion about the time and place of his birth⁵. Generally 1526 A.D. is now accepted as the year of his birth, and scholars like Rāmchandra Śukla and Sir George Grierson approve its adoption. While still a child he lost his parents, and was brought up and taught by Bābā Narhari Dās of Benares from whom he heard the story of Rām. There lived nearby an erudite Brāhmaṇa, named Śeṣasanātan, at whose feet Tulsī Dās studied all the Vedās, Upaniṣads, Darśanās, (philosophical treatises), Purānās and historical books. After the completion of his studies he returned to Rājāpur, his native place, but none of his relatives were then alive. He married there and lived peacefully. Tulsī Dās loved his wife extremely. Once when she had gone to her father's place, he swam across a flooded river to meet her. There she taunted him saying⁶ that, if he had loved God as much as he loved her, he would have obtained redemption from all worldly fears. These words shook and impressed him so much that he straight away renounced the world and came to Benāres (Kāshī, as it was then known).

There he lived for some months, and from there he travelled to all the pilgrimage places in India. Some nineteen years were

5. For discussions see "Goswāmī Tulsī Dās by Syāmsundar Dās".

6. भाज न जागत आपकी, दोड़े आघटु साच।
थिक थिक ऐसे प्रेम की, कहीं कहीं में नाच।
आस्थि-चर्म-मेय देह मम तामें ऐसी प्रीति। ऐसी जो श्री राम मर्द होत न तो भवमीति॥

spent in this way, and he travelled through almost the whole of India. At last he came to Chitrakūt, where he lived for a long time. In 1559 Sūr Dās, the famous Hindī lyric poet, came to see him here. Here he wrote Gītāvalī and Kṛṣṇa-Gītāvalī. After this he went to Ayodhya in 1574 A.D., and in the same year began writing Rām-Carit-Mānas, which he completed in just over two and a half years. Some parts of it, certainly the Kiṣkindhā chapter, were written in Benares. Afterwards he lived in Benares. He numbered among his friends 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-Khānāh, Todarmal, Rājā Mān Singh, and Nabhājī, a Sanskrit scholar. The following remarks of Sir George Grierson make an eminently fitting tribute to the man and his merit: "It would be a great mistake to look upon Tulsī Dās as merely an ascetic. He was a man that had lived. He had been a house-holder, a word of much meaning to an Indian and had known the pleasures of a wedded life, the joy of clasping an infant to his bosom, and the sorrow of losing that son ere he attained his prime. He appealed not to scholars but to his native men as a whole. He mixed with them, begged from them, taught them, experienced their pleasure and yearning 'Here,' cried they, 'is a great soul that knows us. Let us take him for our guide'. 7

Story:- In the opening chapter of Rām-Carit-Mānas the poet writes, "In this manner reassuring myself, I undertake to recount Rām's charming adventures as they have been reverently

told by Vyāsa and the other great poets whose lotus-feet I adore, praying "Fulfil ye my desire"⁸ Thus the story of this work is an account of Rām's life and adventures. The substance of it is; Dasarath, king of Ayodhya, had three wives, Kausilyā, Kaikeie and Sumitrā, but no son by any of them. Then he performed a yajna (religious ceremony) and gave his wives havya (sacred food) from it. In due course four sons were born to him. Rām from Kausilyā, Bharat from Kaikeie, and Śatrughna and Lakshmana from Sumitrā. The four children grew up in most favourable conditions. From the first Lakshmana made a companion of Rām, who however loved them all alike. Once Viśwāmitra took away Rām and Lakshmana to protect his āśram, with the reluctant consent of the king. Rām accomplished his task well. Through his supernatural power he restored Gaṇtam's wife who had been changed into stone by the curse of her husband. Then Viśwāmitra accompanied by the two youths went to Mithilā, where the swayambara of Sītā was being held. Rām won Sītā by raising the Śiva-bow, and his marriage to her was celebrated with regal magnificence. His brothers got married there too. After their return Ayodhya knew festive days, which however later gave way to a period distressing and vexations on account of the two boons granted to Kaikeie, which cancelled the proposed enthronement of Rām and sent him into exile. Sītā and Lakshmana accompanied him. The loss of Rām quickly proved a mortal blow to Dasarath. Whilst these untoward events were taking place Bharat and Śatrughna were away; when called back

8. यहि प्रकार बल मन्हि दुदरि। करिहो रघुपति कथा सुदरि॥

व्यास आदि कवि बुझाव नाना/जिन्ह सादर हरि चरित बखाना॥ (Bāl. Akh. D. 118)
 grouse child. 141

they were grieved ~~with~~ the quick at what had happened. Bharat, after cremating his father's corpse, went to the forests of Chitrakūt to induce Rām to come back, but all in vain. Rām left for Panchavātī, There he met with Sūrpanakhā, the sister of Rāvana, whose nose and ears were cut off by Lakshmana on her shameless proposal of marriage, Rām had to destroy Rakshasās there who fought in consequence of this event. Later Rāvana, on learning of his sister's disgrace, by cunning means, secured the possession of Sītā while Rām and Lakshmana were away. Rām next made an alliance with Sugrīva, now installed as king of the land of the monkeys on the death of his cruel brother, killed by the former's hands. Hanumān, a gallant and wise monkey, became Rām's best helper. To him fell the credit of finding Sītā in the garden of Rāvana, and of burning down the grand demon-capital. Rām, with the help of some gifted monkeys, constructed a bridge over the sea to Lankā, and led his army over it to that island. A battle ensued, and the Rakshasās were all destroyed. With the victory Rām regained his spouse, and they returned with Lakshmana to Ayodhyā, as the period of exile was ended. He ruled his kingdom so well that even now for Hindus "Rām-rājya" (the rule of Rām) is a byword for perfect peace and prosperity. In the later half of his last chapter Tulsī has dealt with several of the phases of Indian faith, and in the end proves that devotion is the best course of all.

Difference from the original:- The main sources of Tulsī's story are (1) Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. (2) the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana

(3) Yogvāsistha and (4) Prasanna-rāghav (a drama). The ^{last} three ~~last~~ owe their origin to the first one. Tulsī took his main theme from Vālmīki but in his treatment of the story as a devotee he was influenced by the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana; the last two sources also helped to a great extent in moulding his mind in devotion to Rām.

The main difference from Vālmīki's original lies in certain episodes and interpolations. These occur particularly in the first book, Bāl-Kāṇḍ and the Laṅkā-chapter. In the first book both authors lead the story up to the same point, the marriage of Rām and Sītā. In Tulsī Bās this is the longest book, in Vālmīki the shortest but one. In the first four cantos of the latter, which merely gives a table of contents, it is stated that Vālmīki learnt the whole of the narrative from Nārada, and taught it to Kuśa and Lav; There is nothing corresponding to this in the introduction to the other work. Vālmīki's actual poem commences, without any prelude, with a description of Ayodhyā and its King Dasarath and his ministers, and of the longing of the King for an heir. Then Vālmīki mentions that Ahilyā's son Śatānand and King Janak of Mithilā welcomed the saint Viśvāmitra, with Rām, and Lakshmaṇa, and Śatānand, in about eight hundred lines, tells about the reception of Viśvāmitra into Brāhmanism. There is no such speech in Tulsī's work; further the latter mentions the garden-scene where Sītā sees Ram, and worships the Goddess Pārvalī and prays that her heart's desire may be fulfilled, but in Vālmīki this

episode does not occur at all.

Then in the Ayodhyā- chapter Vālmiki mentions that a saint ~~Jābāli~~^{Jābāli}, a nihilist, went to persuade Rām, but was unsuccessful; this incident is not found in Tulsī; ~~Jābāli~~^{Jābāli} gets only slight mention there. Again, in the Forest-chapter Vālmiki wrote that Kabaṇḍh told Rām to go to Paṇḍasar and become allied with Sugrīva, whereas in Tulsī this advice is given by Śavarī.

Vālmiki states in Chap. VII that Rām, Lakshmaṇa and also the monkeys were rendered senseless through Meghnād's cunning in the fight, and that Hanumān went to bring herbs from the Kaitās mountains; but Tulsī relates that only Lakshmaṇa was wounded and Hanumān went for herbes to the Dhauḷāgiri mountains and he describes Rām's lamentation over the loss of his brother. Further in Vālmiki Indrajīṭ appears with an imaginary Sītā and kills her before Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān, and the whole party is overwhelmed with grief; Tulsī however makes no reference to such an event.

Again Vālmiki tells of the exile of Sītā, the birth of Lav and Kuśa, and of the horse-sacrifice, but Tulsī has omitted these altogether and ended his story with the peaceful return and reign of Rām. 10

9. Rem., p. 380 (R.Bhatta).

10. To ^{make it conform with} ~~supplement~~ the story of Vālmiki a new chapter has been added to Tulsī's epic, i.e. "Lav-Kuśa" chapter.

Language: General Remarks:- ~~By~~ the time of Tulsī Dās five different styles had been developed in Hindi: (1) Kāṣṭh-Chand, as in Rāso; (2) the Dohā and Caṁpāī, as in the Sūfī poets; (3) the Lyrical of Kṛṣṇāite poets; (4) the Dohā style of Kabīr, and (5) the Chappai. Tulsī was successful in employing all of them. In Rām-Carit-Mānas the arrangement is a combination of Caṁpāīs, Dohās, Chandās and Sorathās mainly, the first pair ~~the main style remained~~ of Dohas and prevailing. Tulsī had two vernacular dialects before him, Avadhī and Braj-bhāṣā, and he used both, His Gītāvalī and Vinaipatrikā employ Brajbhāṣā. Avadhī received its most developed form in Rām-Carit-Mānas. But his Avadhī is different in form and tone from Jāyasī's, Jāyasī used the current language, but the majesty and lucidity of Tulsī captivate the audience ~~of~~ the reader more quickly and keenly. Tulsī's genius was nurtured on ancient Saṁskṛit language and literature, hence his language shows his indebtedness to their discipline. He could have written an epic in Saṁskṛit, but he preferred to touch the hearts of the masses. He writes, "When a coarse blanket is more useful, why wear a doublet of silk?"¹¹

Here are specimens of his forms of the words:-

(1)

(1) Nominal forms - Talsam nouns have been used in their original form and not been distorted; at some places in these nouns, both masculine and feminine, a short vowel is changed into a final long vowel, for the sake of the rhyme, e.g. अनंगा Anangā, हस्ता hāsā (Bālatāṇḍ.)^{319.}

(ii) In ~~Tadbhat~~ nouns, both Masculine and feminine ¹², a short vowel takes the place of a final long vowel, e.g. for दूलाह ^{dūlahā}, दूलाह ^{dūlah} is used, for सुखासिनी ^{suāsinī}, सुखासिनि ^{suāsinī} (Bāl. after D.319).

This substitution is not common in this work. For ^{final} ~~final~~ u or ū have been used to suit the metre, e.g. for विवाह ^(विवाह) ~~vi~~vāh ^{vivāhū} (विवाह) (Bāl. after D.1346); for तन ^{tan}, तनु ^{tanta} (Kīṣk. after D.17.) etc., The ~~former~~ form is more common than the latter.

(iii) All nouns are unchanged in the singular, except that in the accusative and dative हिं ^{hi} is often added to the uninflected base, e.g. दूताहिं ^{dūtahi}, आश्रमाहिं ^{āśramahi}. ¹³

(iv) The nom. plur. is like the nom. sing.; the obl. plur. is formed by adding न ^{na}, न्हा ^{nha}, or नि ⁿⁱ to the nom. sing. ¹⁴ e.g. from कपि ^{kapi}, there is ^{कपिन्} ~~kapin~~h, (Sudāra, after D.28), लातन ^{latan} (Laiṅkā after D.150), बचनानि ^{baṇanani} (Laiṅkā after D.116), etc.

Sometimes the long vowel of the first character of a noun is shortened when न ^{na} is added to it, and at other times it is shortened with the last character in such a case, as from बानार, there is ~~a~~ ^{ba}ṇaran; from मन्त्रि ^{mantri} there is ^{man}trin.

(v) Sometimes the very Saṅskrit case - forms are used in Rām-Carit-Mānas, e.g. राममनामयं ^{Rāmmānāmayam} (Laiṅkā ch. 42), सुखेन ^{suṣṇen} (Bāl. after D. 318),

(vi) Various ^{postpositions} have been employed: कहं ^{kah} is used in the accusative and dative, को ^{ko} here, को ^{ko} here, कर ^{kar}, and को ^{ko} here are used in the oblique. Sometimes सो ^{so} is used with the nouns

in the same sense, e.g. पतिसौ patisaū (Lantā D.141).

(II) Verbal Forms; The tenses of the verbs do not conform to any certain rule in their grammar. Here a few peculiarities in their forms are noted;

(i) The Imperfect Participles are formed by adding ता to the verbal root, e.g. from जाना jānā there is जातjāt (Sundar, after D.1)¹⁵

This is not very common in Rām-Carit-Mānas.

(ii) The Perfect participles add no letter, only the ^{root} is inflected to इ e.g. जपि japi, सुनि suni (Sund. after D.18), This is more often used in the work, perhaps for the reason that the actions were completed in the past.¹⁶

(iii) The Gerund has the same form as in Braj and terminates in

न na or ल la e.g. देन den (Ayodhā D.42), आउल āul (Bāl. after D.272).

(iv) In the perfect tense verbs end also in ओ o and औ au, and औ' aū e.g. कह्यो (Bāl. after D.231), धरौ dharau (Bāl. after D.294),

(v) Irregular forms of the perfect of certain verbs also occur,

e.g. from होना honā there is भयउ bhayau; from रहना rahanā there is रहउ रहौ, from कहना kahanā, there is कहउ कहौ (Ayodhā after D.16).

(vi) The past tense seldom ends in न na eg. करन karan (Atmā, after D.34)

Some times in the imperative उ u is joined to the root displacing

ना nā, e.g. from जानना jānanā comes जानु jānu (Sund. D.14); Sometimes हु hu is added to such roots e.g. from देना denā, there is देहु dehu

(Sundar. D.41).

15. See Kellogg's, 534.

16. See Kellogg's, 535.

(Viii) Sometimes in the past tense सि सि takes the place of ॐ u
e.g. मर्दसि mardesi (Sundar, D.17), etc.

(ix) The author has employed various Sanskrit verbal forms, e.g.
शेदति Rodati, वदति vadati, नमामि namāmi, निरखन्ति nirakhanti
(present tense); यातु यातु, एवमस्तु evamastu (imperative), etc.

Adjectival Forms;- In modern literatures the employment of many
adjectives is looked on with disfavour, but Tulsī has made use of
many and to good effect.

(i) Most of the adjectives are Tatsam, and their genders have not
often been changed according to those of the nouns qualified, e.g.

सुखद sukhad (Ayo. after D.248), विकल vikal (Ayo. after
D.255, used with feminine noun). At a few places the gender of
adjectives has been changed, e.g. from करुनामय karunāmay there is
karunāmai karunā-mai.

(ii) Some Tadbhava adjectives are used but there are few terminating
in आ ā.

(iii) For comparison such words as समवाम, सम, सरिस saris are used. (Bal.
after D.34.).

(iv) For the numerals Tulsī uses the forms इक ik, दुइ dui,
दूसर dūsar, सोरह sorah etc.

Other Forms:- In Rām-Carit-Mānas pronouns have the same forms as in
Avadhī, e.g. मो mo, मोहि' mohi, ओहि ohi, ओउ ओउ (in personal
pronouns); जेहि jehi, तेहि tehi, जाहि jāhi, ताहि tāhi etc. (in
relative pronouns); कवन kavan, etc., (in interrogatives) राख राख (to
show respect), etc. Adverbs have been used in their original forms,

but sometimes ^{हु}hi is added to them, e.g. ^{for कब} ~~for कब~~ ^{hab} ~~hab~~, there is ^{कबहु} ~~hab~~ ^{habahū}, ^{for सब} ~~for सब~~ ^{ah} there is ^{सबहु} ~~abahū~~, etc. Tulsī has borrowed many of his words from Saṁskrit, but a few are used from other languages, such as Arabic, Persian and the common dialect of the people, e.g. जहाना ^{jahānā} (Bal. after D.2.), कागद ^{kāgad} (Bal. after D.12), गरीब निवाजे ^{garīb nivāje} (Bal. after D.30), साहिब ^{sāhib} (Bal. D.36), गारी ^{gārī} (Bal. after D.108), कुलह ^{kulah} (Ayo. after D.30) बाजार ^{bāzār}, बजाज ^{bajāj}, सराफ ^{sarrāf} (uttar, Chand.24); these are words from Arabic and Persian. The next are words current among the common people, भिंगुलिया ^{bhīṅguliā} (Bal. after D.224), खर ^{khar} (Ayo. after D.33), कोहाब ^{Kohāb} (Ayo. after D.30) दोहा ^{dohā} (^{देहा} ~~Smidar~~, after D.10), दासन ^{dāsan} (Uttar, after D.61) etc.

Literary Merit; General Remarks:- In no sense can the so-called Rāmāyana of Tulsī Bās be regarded as a translation of Vālmiki's work of this name. A committee of six pundits once attempted to show that a part of it was a translation. They issued a strange edition of "Aranya" and "Sundar-kāṇḍa" and compared them with a similar poem in Saṁskrit, but all such attempts have proved futile and his work stands accepted as an original. Not only this, "His thoughts had travelled beyond the thoughts of earlier days", the two poems vary as widely as any two dramas on the same mythological subject by two different Greek tragedians. Even the coincidence of the name is an accident, for Tulsī Bās himself called his poem the Rām-Carit-Mānas, and the shorter title, Rāmāyana, corresponding in character to the Iliad or Aeneid, has only been substituted by his admirers as a handier

17. See J.R.A.S. 1913, pp.133-41. 18. The Rāmāyana of Tulsī Bās by Marfie.

designation for a popular favourite. The beginning of Rām-Carit-

Manas is unique. "No other book has such an introduction, written

with such a deliberate consideration of the creation and so wide

20

an outlook." The poet in his first verse (in the Sanskrit

Sloka) acknowledges that the ideas contained in his book may be

traced in the Vedās, Purānās, Śāstrās and elsewhere, 21 This

indicates his utilization of his deep learning in Sanskrit litera-

ture. Further, in the last line of the same sloka he says that he

22

wrote this book for his soul's solace. He would not reserve to

himself the satisfaction and enjoyment which he got from his mental

vision of Rām-Chandra. It was essential he should share with

23

others. This restless feeling permeates his poetry. And thus

24

poetry comes from his heart. One can easily imagine that he

wrote this work not merely from an urge to begin a great poem, but

from an urge to write because he felt a pressing need to describe

the story of his hero in Hindi, in a language with a popular appeal.

His sincerity is transparent in his epic. He became an ascetic at

the taunt of his wife, but he had turned such not merely at the lash

of a sharp or reproachful word; his experience of life taught him

25

its reality; "He was a man that had lived" He knew many phases of

human life and could make their like realistic in the life of Rām.

Further he was not merely a poet but also a religious reformer. He

19. Growse - Intro pp.1 and 2.

20. Goswami Tulsī Dās by R.C. Śuklap.80.

21. नाना पुराणा निगमागम सम्प्रतं यद् रामायणे निगदितं वचनितं अन्यतोऽपि।

22. स्वान्तः सुखाय तुलसी रघुनाथ गान्धा भाषा निबन्धमति मंगुलमातनोति।

23. Goswami Tulsī Dās.p.141.

24. So the first so-called Sloka of Vālmīki burst forth from the heart

25. Tulsī Dās, a poet and a Religious Reformer by Grierson p.452.

cherished all that was best in Hinduism, and he made God real, not insentient or unconcerned but hearing the prayers of his suppliants. In his hero Tulsī Bās he has embodied in human shape a supernatural being. Rām was born to rectify the wrongs, prevalent upon earth; in times of gross injustice and sin God enters into mundane life in human form.²⁶ In his work Tulsī often reminds his listeners or readers that Rām is the omnipotent Being, though he never claims to be so. On the other hand Sūr Bās, the other of the two best poets in Hindi, does not often mention that *Kṛṣṇa* was God, but *Kṛṣṇa* himself declares that He is.

His idea of Poetry:- As mentioned above Tulsī wrote for the satisfaction of his own soul.²⁷ His satisfaction lay not only in his own personal happiness, he desired his poems to produce similar feelings in his readers or listeners. ~~Thus in others.~~ He says, "learned ones say that nice is that poesy which is created in any one heart, but which shows its beauties ~~in another one.~~"²⁸ Thus Tulsī believed in perfecting the Rasa, so that others might also experience it. His perfect dedication of himself to his hero resulted in one of the finest examples of the poetic art.²⁹

In Tulsī's opinion "those verses are futile which are composed in praise of a worldly person."³⁰ He had experience of life's true values and knew that poetry is not assayed in such terms.

26. inprāp. 141 27. जाया बंध कर मे सोई। मोरे मन प्रबोध जहि होई॥

28. तेसैं सुकवि कवित बुद्ध कह्यो। उपजाहि अनंत अनंत द्विवे लख्यो॥

29. भक्ति हेतु बिधि - भवन बिद्यो। सुमिरत शब्द प्रावत (Bāl. at D. 15)

30. कीन्हें प्राकृत जन गुरा-गाना। सिर धुनि गैरा लागे पाहुताना॥

His gift and his message were for the good of all. He wrote, "That fame, composition or wealth is really good which does good to all, like the river Ganges"³¹ Thus his idea of poetry is related to his idea of a hero. To him these two are the complement of each other.³² Unless and until they are combined true poetry can not be composed. Subject and medium must be worthy of each other.

The Idea of Love: Tulsī has painted no love other than that towards Rām; it is here devotion, whether as love towards husband, brother, or commander or king. By means of this triad he has put the ideal before the Hindu community.

His Idea of Fate:- Tulsī accepted the Hindu traditions, including that of supernatural intervention in human affairs. He could not be called an escapist. His age was one of frustration, political, economic, and spiritual. The extent of man's bondage is seen in these words: "Neither gods, demons, men nor serpent-gods can blot out the dictates of Fate."³³

The inevitability of what befalls is urged by Vasiṣṭha before Bharat who was grieved at the demise of his father and the exile of his brother. "Hearken Bharat, Fate is powerful. Loss and gain, birth and death, and fame and dishonour are all caused by the

31. कीरति भरीति भूति भले सोई।
सुरलारे तम सब कर हित होई॥ (Bal. after D.18)

32. सरल कविने कीरति बिमल (Bal. after D.19)

33. कह मुनीश हिमवत सुनु, जो बिधि लिखा लिलाइ।
देव दुज नर-नाग मुनि, कोउ न मरन दार॥ (Bal.D.80)

(Supernatural) Creator" ³⁴

Rām gives similar solace to his mothers for what had happened. ³⁵
Sītā's fault in going out of bounds and thus being liable to be
carried off is condoned on similar grounds. ³⁶

The poet's panacea for human ills is faith in and devotion to the Supreme Deity, whereby one is put in tune with ideal Godhead.
^{Power of Description:-}
n The conduct of the hero must have power to play on the hearer's feelings. The mime and the epic have the same ancestry, and histrionic skill ~~are~~ ^{is} essential to both. Various passages of Rām-Carit-Mānas appeal to various readers. In the recent work "Quest for Sītā" by Maurice Collis his deliverance from the evil Rāvana and her triumphant issue from the ordeal by fire are praised as being among its finest passages. But the scenes describing Mantharā's cunning enticement of Kaike~~ie~~, and Dasarath's despair and self-reproach are tense with dramatic power and emotion. Take for instance the time when, with her ambitious passion stirred to its depths by Mantharā, she appears before Dasarath. "He saw her standing before him burning with passion, as it were Fury's own sword drawn from the sheath, with ill-counsel for its hilt and cruelty, for its sharp edge, whetted on the hump-back grind-stone. The monarch saw her stern and terrible" she will rob me either of life or honour." ³⁷

-
34. सुनहु भरत भावी प्रबल। बिलखि कहेउ मुनिनाथ।
हानि लान जीवन-मरत। जग-अपयश विधि होय॥ (Ayo. D. 169)
35. भैंसी श्चुबर मातु सब, करि प्रबोधि परितोष।
अबु इस आदोन गुण, काहुन देख्य दोष॥ (Ayo. D. 239)
36. विधि-गति बान काल कहिनि। रोव लायि सिय बाहर आई॥ (Ayo. D. 44)
37. Growse (p. 248)

Treatment of Nature: - Tulsī lived his life if not in accordance with Nature at any rate close to it. Whilst the court in the beginning set a standard to which works of art should conform, in time that standard came to be a rigid measure. Metaphors that were drawn from Nature became stereotyped as if Nature were never variable. Tulsī was not content to draw from the common pool of phrase and figure. His mind abounded in tropes as his Rām-Carit-Mānas, the lake of the deeds of Rām, in beautiful things. Perhaps there is no page of his work without some reference to Nature. For him it shares the happiness of human beings. When Rām came to Chitrakūt, the inhabitants rejoiced aloud. Not only men, but the birds, deer, creepers, trees and all the plants were rejoicing at it.

Whilst Tulsī had an eye to see and to admire, he yet worshipped Nature in the traditional way. It was people with gods and goddesses, made visible in the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, Rivers and Mountains. But his worship was different from that of the English poet Wordsworth who studied Nature, meditated on it and found that:-

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

For Tulsī its worship was included in his religion.

He has painted Nature as he saw it. ~~The poet~~ points out to

38. अब हम नाच सनाच सब, भये देखि प्रभु पाय।
भाग्य हमारे आगमन, राउर कोशल राय॥ (Ayo. D. 134).
39. चित्रकूटके विहंग मृग, बेलि बिरप लून-जाति।
पुन्य पुंज सब धन्य-प्रस, कदाहिं देव दिन राति॥ (Ayo. D. 137)

Bharat the place where Rām lived in the forest, "See, my Lord, those huge trees, *pākar*, *jāmūn*, mango and *Tamāl*, in the midst of which is conspicuous a bar tree, so beautiful and grand that the soul is changed at the sight, with dense dark shoots and red fruit, affording a pleasant shade in all seasons of the year, a mass of black and purple as if God had brought together all that was lovely to make it." ⁴⁰
This description shows how the poet has observed the trees closely and picturesquely outlined the scene.

His images are impressed with grandeur; Rām, pointing to the moon says, "See, the moon like some dauntless lion, that has its dwelling in a cave of the Eastern ranges, pre-eminent in might, majesty and strength, rends asunder the darkness as it were the head of a wild elephant ..." ⁴¹ Though Tulsī lived in a land where changes sudden and violent come over the face of Nature he does not produce such a picture of violent destructive power as that in Shelley's "West Wind". His lion-like moon spreads pacifying rays upon the earth. It can not be said that Tulsī was a less ardent spirit than Shelley, but his descriptions are like the calm bosom of the ocean, while those of the other are like a hill-stream, gathering speed as it descends from high up the crest and destroying all that impedes its way. Sometimes a natural scene provides him with the background of a moral discourse.

Describing the rain-cloud he once said: वर्षादि जलद भूमि नियराये। जपानबहि बुधा विद्या पाये।
खंड प्रधात सदै गीदि कीसे। खलके वयन संत सह जे से॥
(Kishich)

40. Ayo, after D.227 Gr. p.323.

41. प्रब दिसा बिलोकि प्रभु, देखा उदित मयंक।
कहेउ सबहि देवउ सासीहि भृगपाति सासि प्रसंक॥ (Lankā D.13 + after D.475)

Characterisation in Rām-Carit-Mānas:- As has already been stated Tulsī had known family life and lived much among men before he withdrew into the retirement necessary to his great task. Thus Dasarath, Bharat, and Lakshmana and Sītā are no mere abstractions, but live impersonations. Each of these is so characterful that their individual treatment will help to a fuller analysis of the work.

Dasarath:- Of Dasarath as a king there is not much to say; his conjugal and parental conduct place him in the foreground in one splendid tragic scene. Vālmiki has depicted him as more uxorious than he appears, ^{here} in the hands of Kaikē, the fairest of his queens, Tulsī has been content to show his exceeding fondness so that ~~he~~ fulfilled his two vows even at the sacrifice of Rām, but his paternal instinct was wounded to his own death. If he weakly betrayed his heir's interest, he did the utmost he could to atone when conscience-stricken. One sees in him a Greek figure led to an action he would not have willed and to an end he could not escape.

Rām:- Rām is the hero of the poem. Foremost of all in him is his ^{dual} ~~role~~ of Supreme Deity and ideal man "Omnipotence apart, the main ⁴² feature of Rām is his passivity, gravity and tenderness." From very childhood these qualities came naturally to him. Bravery

42. Goswāmī Tulsī Dās by R.C. Śūṅkla p.125.

and chivalry were also elements in his composition. With Lakshmana he protected Viśwāmitra's āśram and cleared the forest of demons, he won Sītā through his valour. Then he got the better of the warrior and matricide Parāśurām. His acceptance of a long exile was not from repugnance to temporal power or mere submission to a parent's wish. ~~He~~ was resolute as his words to his step-mother show:

"Hearken mother, that son is indeed fortunate who is devoted to the will of his parents." ⁴³ Resisting all inducements from without he put aside abruptly ease and pleasure, and in mendicant's guise roamed the forest and faced its dangers.

To Tulsī's eyes he was omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient God, but his human identity is not neglected. For instance he had to make an alliance with Sugrīva, whose host rallied to his aid. Rām's clemency and justice were evident in his forgiving those demons who came under his protection. ⁴⁴ ~~Vijaya~~ ^{Lehi} ~~was~~ was one of these. The righting of wrong was his first motive, not the acquisition of land.

On his return to Ayodhyā he ruled so efficiently that there remained no malice or poverty in his kingdom. "From the time, Garuṇa, of the uprising of the glorious sun of Rām's power, the three spheres were all suffused with light". ⁴⁴ The years of his reign were long and happy in the service of his people.

Tulsī was not troubled with monophysite or monothelite problems; God and man were blended for the visionary. He went further than

43. सुनु जननी मोह सुत बड़ भारी।
जो पितृ-मातृ बचन अनुरागी॥ (Ayo. 1.43)

44. Growse Tr. p.573.

Rāmānuja and Rāmānand for his Rām was not merely an incarnation of Viṣṇu but an incarnation of the Supreme Deity. He was thus able to present a consolidated character, co-ordinating the views of the worshippers of Śiva and Brahma.* "We find Brahma and Śiva recognising Rām as something more than one of many incarnations of Viṣṇu; they recognise him as the Supreme Spirit."⁴⁵

Bharat:- In his invocatory verses Tulsī has succinctly summed up

Bharat, प्रराबिी प्रथम भरतके-चरणा। जासु नेम वत जाइनबरणा।
रामचरणापंकज मन जासु। लुब्ध मद्युप स्वतजैनपास॥ (Bāl.)

The portrayal here is very skilful. The young Bharat had been away from Court while momentous events were taking place. He came back to find himself unduly raised from obscurity to the highest position of responsibility in the land.* "On hearing the news Bharat was totally overpowered with grief as when an elephant hears the roar of a lion."⁴⁶ Such was his love towards Rām that even against the advice of his elders he refused to accept the responsibility thrust on him. He reproached himself as the cause of all the mishaps and his utterances make a most poignant passage, "I speak the truth; hearken all and believe; - - - If you persist in giving the crown to me, earth will sink into hell. What guilty wretch is equal to me, for whom Sītā and Rām have been exiled!"⁴⁷

Not content with refusing the throne he set out for the forest to persuade Ram to return, his people accompanied him. His speech

45. The Rāmāyana of Tulsī Dās by Macfie p.81.

46. सुनत भरतमे विवश विषादा, जानु सखेउ करि केदरेनादा।

47. कहौ सोच सब सुनि पतियादू। चाहिय करम सील नरनादू॥
(Ayo.after D.175) Gr. Trans. p.292.

at the assembly in Chitrakūt, shows that the burden still weighs
⁴⁸ him down, His words scorched and made the audience wilt as when
the frost smites a bed of lotuses. And Rām himself rose up to
praise him, "Whoever even imagines wickedness in you shall perish
⁴⁹ both, in this life and the next".

It should be noted here that Tulsī was engrossed in the
description of Bharat's fraternal devotion and loved to picture
him as a symbol of such rather than a creature liable to human
⁵⁰ frailty.

Lakshmana:- Lakshmana's is a somewhat different type of fraternal
affection from the preceding. There is apparently an equality in
their love, but in its outward expression it takes a more practical
form in Lakshmana, who left princely comfort and his loving consort
⁵¹ Winita to join Rām in exile, There he remained day and night in
the service of his brother, and fought the Rākshasās by his side.

He is a contrast in his quick action and resentment to the
⁵² usually placid and persuasive Rām, He at once grew angry on hearing
the words of Janak that there remained no hero on the earth to
break the bow of Śiva. He picked up a quarrel with Paraśurām who

48. बिधि न सकेउ सही मोर दुलारा। नीच नीच जननी मिसु पारा॥
 (Ayo. af. D. 254).

49. उर अमानत तुम पर कुटिलहि। जाइ लोक परलोक नसाइ॥ (Ayo. af. D. 256).

50. जानु प्रेम तनु पारि मिलत वर सुषमालदी।

51. मैं सिसु प्रभु-सनेह प्रति पाला। मंदर मेरु कि लेइ भाला॥----

52. गुरु + पिता + माता न जानौ काहु।-----॥

मारे लखन कुटिल भई मोहिं रद-पट करकत नयन-रिसौ है॥

showed anger on the breaking of Śiva's bow. His anger flared up again merely at hearing the news of Bharat's arrival in the forests with an army and he would have taken action against him, so Rām Candra Śukla has advisedly put him in the catalogue of ordinary characters, placing Rām and Bharat in the list of the ideal.

Hanumān:- As Rām is ideal man and Bharat ideal brother, so is Hanumān ideal servant. He first met Rām near Pampāsar where the latter had gone in search of Sītā. There and then Hanumān's heart recognised his proper master. Sincerity and honesty are two outstanding qualities of a servant and these Hanumān possessed in full measure. He flew across the sea, went alone into the demon - capital of Lāṅkā and found out Sītā's place of captivity; he burned down Lāṅkā and brought to Rām news of Sītā; he was most helpful to the latter at every juncture, and it was he who brought the herbs to cure Lakshmaṇa when he fainted. These lines in the poet's invocation are a worthy tribute to him:

वन्दे पवनकुमार, रबल-वन पावक
जान दाना
जासु हृदय-प्रागार, अस्तहिं राम सर-वैषधी।

Female characters The female characters in the work may be divided into four main groups as mothers, wives, saints and servants. In the first category come Kaṁśilyā, Sumitrā, Kaikeie and Maina (mother of Pārvatī); in the second Kaikeie, Sītā, ^{Urm} Manīkā, Maṇ-
dodarī and Tārā; in the third Anusūyā and Śavarī, while the fourth consists mainly of Maṇtharā and Trijaṭā, of whom the latter was maid to Rāvan's family.

53. अति सरोज मारवे लखन। अखि सुनि सचच प्रमान।
अर्थ लौक सब लोक-पति। जाइत भन्तारे भगवान्॥

56- Bāl. D. 101

54. Goswāmī Tulsī Dās p.138-39.

55. तहें रह सचिव साहित सुगीवा- - ।

(1) Of the mothers Kausilyā stands out the foremost. She is a model wife and mother. Her character is revealed in the Ayodhyā-chapter when first announcement was made of Rām's coronation and she was overjoyed. Then into her gladness her own son brought the tragic news which plunged all in gloom; he came to ask her permission to leave her for 14 years. His words:

वचन विनीत मधुर रघुवरके। शर समन्ती मातु उर करके॥
सहस्रि स्मरि सुनि शीतल बनी। जिमि जबासपर पावस पानी॥

vexed her to the core of her heart. "Her eyes filled with tears and her body trembled all over, like a fish, overtaken by the scour of a flooded river."⁵⁷

But Kausilyā was an ideal mother; she did not chafe at the injury done her or her son, but bore herself magnanimously and agreed to Rām's going into exile. She was in a dilemma between affection on the one side and duty on the other,⁵⁸ and she chose the latter. Moreover with a brave front she turned to comfort and encourage the young man who must shoulder his harder task.⁵⁹

Sumitrā hears with sorrow the wish of her son Lakshmanā to go. She is "distressed like a hind who sees around her the fire devouring the forest."⁶⁰ But her nobility is stirred by the wish and the need, and she speeds him on the way with the words,

" तात कुहार मातु बेदेही। पिता राम सब भौति सनेही॥
स्वयं तहाँ जहँ राम निवास। तहाँ दिवस जहँ भानु प्रकास॥"

(Ayo. after D.175).

57. Gr. Trans. p.231

58. परम सनेह उभय प्रति देखी।---॥

59. तात अऊँ जाऊँ बलि कीन्हैउ मेका। पितु प्रायसु सब धर्म कहीका॥ (Ayo. after D.56).

60. गई सहस्रि सुनि वचन कौठरा। मृगी देखि जनु दब चहुँ ओरा॥

Kaikeie:- Kaikeie is a good subject of study. Prior to her request for the boons she loves Rām and Bharat equally and is overjoyed to hear of the coronation of Rām. Then the snake enters the garden; Mantharā comes with her wiles, sinuous as a serpent's coils. At first she rebukes Mantharā when she would warn her of a future darkened for her by the coronation of her stepson. Kaikeie was endowed with beauty and grace, but was not free from weakness of character. She could not withstand the evil allure of Mantharā's words and fell a victim to her scheming. Tulsī has added a supernatural reason for this change of attitudes and thus her innocence is proved; The gods he says thought that the demons would not perish unless Rām went into the forests, and so they sought the help of Saraswatī, the Goddess of learning, who turned the mind of Kaikeie (Ayo.D.15). Whatever may have been the cause, it seems clear that Kaikeie's character was not strong in righteousness. Gunningly she asked the two boons on which turn the remainder of the story. Fair Helen's broken troth sent a fleet to Troy and Kaikeie's evil ambition for her son brought death and unhappiness in its train, and has given the world a great epic, but their story worked itself out to its end in tears as well as brave deeds and wassail.

Later she felt remorse at her misdeeds and learned from Rām of her forgiveness.
62

Mainā, distressed by Nārād's prediction of her daughter's marriage to one with whom she thinks her union would be fraught

with unhappiness and woe is rebellious against the cruel fortune so
⁶³ imminent. Her maternal affection for the child prompts her to
 suggest their throwing themselves down from a hilltop. Fortunately
 this apprehension is not realised. Mainā does not appear again in
 the work.

(2) Kaikeī had been taken into the royal household after Kausilyā
 and Sumitrā, and became the mainstay and comforter of the King's
 advancing years. She lived agreeably with the other wives, and
 helped Daśarath in peace and war. All went well till Mañtharā's
 machinations worked on her vanity:

शाल तुम्हार कौशिलहिं भाई।
 चतुर कपट नहिं परत लखई॥

(Ayo. after D.21)

she raged like a tempest when she thought her wish thwarted:

अस कहि कुटिल भई उठि छादी।
 मानहु शेष तरंगिनि बादी॥

(Ayo. after D.36).

The strongly abusive terms used of her at this time contrast with
 her penit^tent behaviour later. That the common people abused her is
 easily understandable, but one can regret that the poet has appended
 mean (kuṭil) to her name at ⁶⁴ Chitrak⁵ent, by which time she has become
 repentant in sackcloth and ashes.

Of Sītā little need be added to what has already been said.
 She is a symbol of the ideal helpmate. But her feminine resource-
 fulness did not escape Tulsī; when she was being carried off by

63. कस कोन्ह नर जोराह बिधि,
 जेइ तुमहिं सुन्दरता दई।
 जीवत विवाह हो न करौ॥

64- गरइ गलानि कुटिल कैकेई।

Rāvan she dropped her scarf among the monkeys as a clue, and her scream may have been a ruse to direct the driver's attention. Mere rage in her circumstances would have been idle.

Vālmiki in his last chapter makes Rām send her into exile in consequence of the washerman's taunt that she had been taken back after living in the abode of Rāvan. She did not question the justice ~~of~~ wisdom of the order, but obeyed, and without loss of dignity for the situation excused the innuendo. Tulsī substitutes for this chapter his sequel, which is more useful to his cause, the justification of many by faith.

Urmilā - Tulsī took little notice of Urmilā, wife of Lakṣhman. There is no mention of a final farewell before his departure. She accepted her lot without complaint. Tulsī's dramatic sense evidently found it better not to draught ^{it} a full role for his two chief female characters, so equal in every other way. Sheer goodness with no action to test it could cloy. But Maithilī Saran Gupta saw possibilities in her situation and did justice to them in his Sāketa (*infra*, 251).

Māndodarī and Tārā. These play short but significant parts. The former, wife of Rāvan, exceeded him in foresight. ~~She~~ knew of Rām's power and that he would allow nothing to stand in his way. She warned her husband and urged him to restore Sītā, but in vain, and he went into action to the destruction of himself and his kin, - one more case in history, where the woman's psychology had the truer insight. Tārā showed herself faithful unto death, becoming "Satī" on her husband's funeral pyre.

Of the woman who had taken to the ascetic life of the jungle are Anusūya and Śavarī; the former, wife of the ^{saint Atri} Rishitan gave to Sītā wise counsel on domestic loyalties. She draws a parallel between human and divine love:

सनु सीता तब नाम, सुभिरि नीर पतिव्रत करीहि।
तोहि प्रान प्रिय स्तन, करेउं कव्य संसार दिना।

(Aranya-50.5).

Śavarī is a type of the meanest among them being justified by faith. She is of low origin, but Rām rewards her conduct in these words:

कह स्नुपति सनु भातिनि नाता।

मानौं एक भक्ति कर नाता॥ (Aranya-44.10.58).

In the words here he has recognised the caste-system, but not in the path of devotion.

Of the other female characters Mañtharā stands out. She is most cleverly drawn. With lure, ruse, and warning she leads or goads her mistress on; she plays her as a cat a mouse. Her portrayal is a masterpiece in miniature within the great work. Audiences must have looked on with the interest of horror as the "Hunchback" plied her cunning.

Figures of Speech: ~~In this, Tulsī's~~ ~~are~~ a masterpiece, ~~these~~ figures in the poems appear natural and free from artificiality. He never used Alākārās for their own sake as Keśav did, but notwithstanding very few verses in Rām-Garit-Mānas are devoid of them.

Alliteration:- Alliteration and repetition, far from obstructing the flow of the verse, keep the listener's mind alert, so that it cannot wander and lose itself in the maze of simile and metaphor.

The materials of the similes and metaphors have been taken from mythology~~ies~~, tradition, Nature and customs. Of these Nature has supplied most, in accordance with epic tradition. Thus when the foot of some respected person is described, the lotus is brought to make the comparison; in the description of the human face, the lotus and the moon are both employed; the lion and the tigress stand for rage and fury. Sometimes a great moral precept is conveyed in simple but pithy form, e.g. "The bow of Śiva was not moving, ~~in a way~~ ^{just} as the wishes of a chaste woman are unmoved by the words of a sensual person"⁶⁵ "As the water remains unseen if it is covered by the lotus-leaves, similarly the Brahm (God or the soul) (though in everyone's body) is not realised because worldly aspirations have covered it."⁶⁶

Here are a few specimens of various figures of speech in Rām-Carit-Mānas, with comments where considered necessary:

Alliteration (very common):- बने न बरनत बानि बराता।

होइ शकुन सुंदर शुभ दाता॥
(Bal.)

Here ^{the} ~~an~~ has been used four time and ^{the} ~~an~~ twice.

Repetition of words (frequent):- अंग अंग रुचि सखिन बनाये॥
(Bal.)

Againing
सुरगरा सहित सम्य सुशगल।
(Ayo)

65. डिगे न शंभु सरसन जैसे। कामी बचन सती मन जैसे॥
(Bal. after D.287)

66. पुरानी सचाने जोत जल, बेगि न पाइय भन।
भायाच्छुन न देखिये, जैसे निर्गुन ब्रह्म ॥ (Aranya D.66.)

In these lines अंग and सुर have been used twice each.

Similes (common):- (1) मुनि सकुलाइ उठा तब कैसे। जिकल दीन मनि बिनु जिन जैसे॥
(Araṇya)
The troubled condition of the sage has been compared to that of a serpent which has lost its gem.

(11) राम दरस हित नेम ब्रत, लोग करन नरनारी।
मनहु कोक कोकी कमल, दीन बिहीन तमारी॥ (Ayo. D. 87)

"Men and women alike began to fast and make vows to secure his return, like the poor 'cakwa' and the lotus when bereft of the Sun".

Metaphors ~~are~~ scattered and few. The most popular of these are those metaphors on Mānas (Bal. from D.50 to D.54.); Rām as the Sun (Bal. after D.291); the furious Kaikeie as a river (Ayo. after D.36); Bharat as an ocean (Ayo. after D.250); woman as the spring (in abusive tone) (Araṇya after D.72); ~~an~~ army as rainy season (Lāṅkā after D.64); Rām's glory as the sun (Uttar. after D.52); jñān (true knowledge) as alighted candle (Uttar after D.17). For example Rām as the sun:

उदित उदय गिरि अंचपर, सूर्युबर बाल पतंग।
बिकसे संत सरोज बन, हरषे लोचन भृंग॥
नृपन कोरे प्राप्ता निरसिनासी, वचन नषत अवलीन प्रकासी॥

Supernatural Elements:- Tulsī has taken most of his supernaturalism from Hindu mythology; some, based on superstitions widespread among Hindus.

The story of Rām itself contains such elements:- The transformation of a stone into a woman, (Bal.); The laughter of an image (Bal.); Saraswatī's part in turning Kaikeie's mind; the blow on Sītā's foot inflicted by Indra's son; the changing of forms, as in

the case of Surpanakhā and Mārīcā; divine weapons and Indra's aeroplane are all such as had been common in fables and tales widely current; Rām and his party were themselves incarnations of God; gods and goddesses; the Rakshasās' origin is also known to be from the Kshatriyās. Thus fact and the supernatural have been much intermixed. Tulsī has also introduced the voice from above as warning of some imminent event; mention of the celestial voice occurs also in Rāso. He believed in omens good and bad.⁶⁷ He observed the time-honoured customs at marriage and at death. He believed in keeping up religious ceremonies and in the virtue of yajnas e.g. the four sons of Dasarath they were born after a ^ayajna. He believed in dreams. He thought that all things in the world have an existence and a soul, hence he invited even the mountains and ponds to Pārvalī's marriage. He believed in the effectiveness of a curse, and Dasarath had to abide the consequence of the curse uttered by the blind sage. He thought that gods and goddesses came to human help when they pleased, so Śiva and Brahmā grant extraordinary powers even to Rāvana and Meghnad. He believed in rebirth, and the previous births of all his characters have a direct bearing upon the story.

67. इतना कहत हीन मरु बाये। कहेउ शकुनिअनृ खेत सुहये॥

(Ayo. after D.188)

As an Epic:- Rām-Carīt-Mānas is the best epic in Hindi literature. In theme, language, style, descriptions and characterisation Tulsī has surpassed all Hindi poets.

The story of Rām is an account for the noblest Aryan prince the soil of India has ever produced. Though in myths and religion he has been given a supernatural form, ~~yet~~ his embodiment in human shape is no less attractive. Vālmiki painted the latter well, he thought only of Rām's life and story, not what this story could mean to millions. He could not utilise Rām's virtues to heal the painful sores of human society; perhaps this was not so greatly needed at that time. But Tulsī was born at a period of need, and he was so enraptured by Rām's character that his presentation of it has become unique in Indian literature. The art of this great poet has made Rām real, but his genius and sympathy have made him vivid and ideal. As the story of Rām was *glorious and epoch-making* and regarded to be historical, it was well fitted to be the theme of an epic. But

Kṛttivās had written his Rāmāyana in Bengali about 200 years earlier. His work was popular but his poem ~~has~~ been influenced to a great extent by Bengal and its customs. Every tale is "adapted to rustic life. The character of Sītā is conceived as that of a young lovely woman of Bengal. Princes of Bengal figure every where; Bāli the monkey-prince wears a Bengali 'dhūtī' round his waist"⁶⁸ Thus the majesty and earnestness of Tulsī's epic is not found in his Bengali

68. Bengali Rama-yanās by Sen.

predecessor and he was not influenced in anyway by the latter. The later Bengali writers on Rām have come under the influence of Tulsī, but by trying to preach the Kṛṣṇa-cult through the Rāmāyanic story they have made their writings somewhat unreal, so that they do not possess his effectiveness.

No one has written an epic on Rām in Gujratī. Udhav, son of the famous poet Bhallana, wrote a Rāmāyana in the 17th Century, but an account of its lack of a definite theme and of artistic power it can not be compared with Tulsī. A disciple of BREMANAND composed a Lakṣa chapter only. In the 18th century PRITAM DĀS wrote the Adhyatma Rāmāyana, but like these others it proved a futile attempt. The Rāmāyanās of Eṣknāth and Moropant in MARATHĪ are a mixture of the story of Rām and spiritual knowledge; they too do not satisfy the requirements of an epic. Hence Tulsī's work stands unique in the literatures of the vernaculars of India. He has employed a style well adapted to his theme. The metres are few and change at regular intervals, thus keeping his style undisturbed. CAUPĀIS carry the burden of the narrative, The DOHĀ, in a few words provides semi-proverbial wisdom or bridges over a time-gap. The SORATHĀ has a somewhat similar purpose. The CHAND is a more or less deliberate device to arrest and hold attention, for it picks up an emphatic word from the close of the preceding stanza and its manner is rhetorical and enthusiastic.

Many aspects of Hindu philosophy are treated of in his work. For instance ^{author} he defines devotion and true knowledge

and puts devotees above all others. The belief in one God is expounded in a way to help along the path of devotion, and it is not at variance with his adherence to the caste-system. Ideals proclaimed in RĀM-CARIT-MANAS apply equally to the saintly and the worldly. The story began with a quest for peace and the solution is given at the end in the conception of RĀM-RĀJYA: " जब ते राम प्रताप खगेसा।

उदित भयउ श्रुति प्रबल दिनेसा ॥

अथ उलूके जहं लहं लुकाये। काम क्रोध बैरव सकुचोने ॥

बिबिध कर्म हन काल सुभाऊ। ये चकोर सब लहहि नकाइ ॥

---(pullar.
after D. 52),

The Idea of Incarnation in Rāmā-carit-Mānas.

Tulsī says, "God comes on the earth and removes all worldly ills at such times when righteousness has faded away and the proud demons have become powerful¹." Exactly the same reason for incarnation of deity is given in the Gītā (Ch. IV v. 7, 8)² for, Raviṇdranāth Tagore writes, "Some modern philosophers of Europe, who are directly or indirectly indebted to the Upanishadās, far from realising their debt, maintain that the Brahma of India is a mere abstraction, a negation of all that is in the world, in a word, that the infinite being is to be found nowhere except in metaphysics. It may be that such a doctrine has been and still is prevalent with a section of our countrymen. But this is certainly not in accord with the pervading spirit of the Indian mind." Instead it is the practice of realising, and affirming the presence of the infinite in all things which has been its constant inspiration.³ Upanishadās also say, "Whatever there is in the world is being enveloped by God."⁴ This all-pervading power of God has been expounded in the 11th chapter of the "Gītā" more clearly. Vālmūki also has attributed this same nature to God or Viṣṇu.⁵

1- जब जब होहिं धर्मकी दानी। जादहिं असुर महा अभिमानी॥
तब तब प्रभु पारि मनुज शरीरा। हरीहिं सकल भव-पारिधि पीरा॥

2- यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम्॥

3- Sādhanā h. 16.

4- ईशावास्योमिदम् सर्वम् यन्किञ्चिद् जगत्यामृजत।
(Ishopanishad, 8),

5- Bāl. 15 - v. 26
76 - 18.12-17

Tulsī follows on the same lines and says, "I understand all the world enveloped in Rām and Sītā, hence I bow down before all with folded hands.⁶ He had this idea of God who would come in human shape for the rectification of wrongs.

The incarnation of deity served for him three purposes; (1) As stated in the Gītā, the rectification of wrong; (2) to give the form of God to the devotee, and (3) to put an ideal figure before the perplexed Hindu masses. Vālmiki has given the first of those purposes as the cause of the incarnation in Vāman⁷, Kapil⁸, ~~Kamāṭṭ~~⁹, Parashurām¹⁰, Varāh¹¹ Kṛṣṇa¹² and Rāma¹³ and almost the same purpose has been given by Tulsī, who however advanced a step further by accepting this human shape as God because none can be worshipped without a form. Macfie well concludes, "In our examination of the various religious ideas of the poem, we have been all along leading upto what is its very heart and centre - the birth of Rām and the work he achieves in the world. The poet's claim is that he is not only an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the second member of the Triad, but of Brahm, the Supreme Spirit of the Universe who has taken on himself a visible form."¹⁴

To Tulsī the third purpose in the incarnation is that secret instrument which he was giving to the world as a solution of all problems. This solution he submits through 3 sources:

6. शिशुशत्रुमये सब जग जानी। करहुं प्रणाम जोरि युग पानी॥
गिरा-धुर्वी जल बीचि सत्र, कहियत भिन्न न भिन्न। बन्दौ सोता-रस पद, जाहि पास प्रिय खिन्न॥

7. Bal. 29 vs. 2 - 9, 8. Bal. 273 vs. 25, 29, 30,

9. Bal. 45 vs. 15 - 16, 10. Bal. 76 vs. 19 - 24

11. Ayo - 110, 12. Bal. 40-42 and 13. Aranya 31-v. 23.

14. Rāmāyana of Tulsī Bās, p. 93.

(1) Pārvatī asks her lord Śiva about the mystery and the greatness of Rām in order to remove her own delusion. 2) Bharadvāj asks the same of Yajña valkya; (3) Garuna asks this question of the Crow. The answer in each case is as the story of Rām.

The three who ask are representatives of deluded humanity, and through the answers of the learned they are shown the path of redemption. To the author Rām was the one and only great Being. Hence Śiva is vexed to hear this part of the question of his spouse, "Is there some other Rām of whom the books of revelation sing and on whom holy men meditate?" ¹⁵ and he denounced all those who entertained such thoughts as ¹⁶

"Heretics and enemies of Rām's feet, who are ignorant, undeserving blind and reprobate, people on the mirror of whose minds nothing remains, lustful, deceitful, and very perverse, who have not even in dream, seen an assembly of the saints, --- they understand neither gain nor loss. They can not discern between Aquṣṇa and Saguṣṇa.-----" ¹⁷.

15. प्रभु जे मुनि परमारख्य बदि। कह्यो राम कहें ब्रह्म खनदि॥
राम सो अवधि नृपति सुतमोहि। कि प्रज प्रगुना प्रलख गति कोइ॥ (Bāl. aṣṭ D. 11.)

16. जिन्ह द्वारे कथा मुनि नाहिं काना। श्रवण रंघ्र प्रादि-भवन समाना॥
नयन संत दरस नाहिं देखा। लोचन मोर-पंख कर भेखा॥

17. Rāmāyana of Tulsī Dās p.96.

(Bāl. aṣṭ D. 122.)

V. THE RITI-ERA: - RĀM-CAN-DRIKĀ as representative epic.

INTRODUCTION

Keśav was a contemporary of Tulsī Dās. In the period when Sūr Dās and other members of the poetic octette (Asta-Chāp, i.e. eight seals or die stamps) of the Kṛṣṇa-cult reached the pinnacle of success in their lyrics and while Tulsī was engaged in writing Rām-Carit-Mānas, his immortal portrayal of devotion, Keśav was able to inaugurate an age which covers about two hundred years of Hindi poetic literature.^{1.}

It is greatly to the credit of Keśav that he laid so well and truly the foundations of the 'Rīti-era' and established the Alākār-school. He wrote poems both short and long, but they are generally creations of the mind and were written to display his great knowledge. On the other hand some express the feelings of his heart and are exceptions to the above statement.

The Poet: Keśav Dās was born about 1555-57 A.D.^{2.} into a famous Sanādhya Brāhmaṇ family of Kāśīnāth of Orchā. He lived at the court of Indrajit Singh, brother of Prince Rām Singh. Once Keśav, through Birbal's instrumentality, induced Akbar to

-
1. Bābū Śyām Sunder Dās mentions that Kṛpārām, Gop and Mohan Lāl wrote books on Alākārās before Keśav (Hindī-Bhāṣā Aur Sāhitya p.439).
 2. This date has been fixed by Pt. Rām Candra Śukla (H.S.I. p.212). The Miśrabandhūs have discussed this date and fixed it as 1551 A.D. (Hindī Navratna)

excuse Indrajit from a heavy fine he had imposed on him, and he was greatly honoured thereafter by Indrajit. His family had been reputed for its Sanskrit learning, and his brother Balbhadra Misra was a learned poet. In this cultured atmosphere he grew up and acquired in due course distinction in poetics.

Kesav loved ostentation as is obvious in his writings, and his thoughts often dwelt on the sensuous and sensual, so much so that he felt hurt in his old age when beautiful maidens called him 'old Papa' and passed by.^{3.}

Kesav had widely studied Sanskrit-literature. He cultivated artistic form in verse and took a keen interest in poetics. Hence he read with devotion the works of Daṇḍin, Ruyyak, Vāman, rather than those of Bharat Muni, Viśwanāth and Mammāt, who believed "Rasa" (flavour) to be the soul of poetry. He wrote two books on poetics - Rasik-Priyā (1591) and Kavi-Priyā (1601). His epic-narrative Rām-Candrikā appeared in 1601 A.D., some sixteen years before his death in 1617.^{4.}

His object - The poet has mentioned his reason for writing this work. He says, "The sage Vālmiki once glanced at him in a

3. 'केसव केसविने ब्रह्म करी जस प्ररिहूँ न कराहि'। चन्द्र-बदन मृग-लोचनी बाबा कहि कहि जाय ॥

This has been translated by Keay in these words:
Kesav says 'my (grey) hairs have done to me what my enemies cannot do; Maidens with a countenance fair as the moon, and eyes like deer, now call me Bābā (father).'
Hist. of Hindi Lit., p.38.

4. The Misrabandhus and Pandit Rām Candra Sukla agree with this date. But Lā-lā Bhagwan Din fixes it between 1610 and 1623 A.D.

dream and Keśav asked him how he might obtain the real happiness." The sage in answer told him that this could be gained only through devotion to Rām.^{6.} After further questioning by Keśav the sage expounded briefly the greatness of Rām.^{7.} As soon as the great saint disappeared Rām became endeared to the poet,^{8.} who then resolved to praise him in song "whereby prosperity would be gained and previous sins condoned".^{9.}

In this way the main idea in writing this work seems to be devotion to Rām. But the work suggests that it was the poet's ambition that led to its composition. The introduction of the great sage and poet Vālmiki is itself proof of his ambitious zeal. Further, the use of various metres, Alākāras and fiction are proof of his determination to express himself in a manner so distinguished as an epic. His pride in learning and in his heritage also contributed. It is due to the combination of all these that Rām-Cāndrikā saw the light of day.

5. Rck. V.7 ch. I.

6. Rck. V.9, 10 ch. I.

7. Rck. V.8, 13-17.

8. Rck. V.18 ch. I.

9. Rck. V.20 ch. I.

THE STORY

The story in Rām-Candrikā is the same as in Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. Keśav has here narrated the main events very briefly. He has made greater use of conversations between his characters and ^{of} with descriptions of forests, seasons, and certain human features.

Rām, Lakshman, Bharat and Śatrughna were the four sons of King Dasarath. Once at the request of saint Viśvāmitra the King sent Rām and Lakshman to protect the saint's āśram. This task accomplished they proceeded to Mithilā and took part in the Swayambara of Sītā. There Rām broke the bow, a feat that had baffled all the suitors, and obtained Sītā's hand in marriage. While returning home he had a quarrel with Parāśurām, which was made up through the supernatural agency of Śiva. Rejoicing filled the minds of the people of Avadh. These reached a climax when the coronation-day of Rām was fixed, but due to the boons granted to Kaikei all further proceedings were cancelled, and Rām, Lakshman and Sītā went away to the forest. Surpanakhā, sister of the Demon King Rāvan came to the forest of Pancvaṭī to seek Rām's hand in marriage. Lakshman taking matters into his own hands cut off her nose and ears. At her instigation her three brothers Khar, Duṣan and Trīśirā fight with Rām and ^{were} ~~are~~ killed. Then Sītā was carried off by Rāvan, and the quest of her led to the struggle at Laṅkā. She was recovered after

Rāvan and his party were slain. Rām then returned home and ruled happily. Sītā was exiled by her husband because of her living, though under compulsion, at Rāvan's place. In the forest two sons, Lav and Kuśa, were born to her. Rām performed an Aśvamedh Yagya, and sent a horse around the world in the traditional fashion. Next a battle took place between ^{LAV} Lav and Kuśa on one side against Rām's party. In the end the two sides became one, and Sītā rejoined Rām. Later he divided the kingdom among his sons and nephews and retired.

Thus the story as treated by Keśav is almost the same as that narrated by his predecessors, but he has made some additions, Rām is said to play "Caugān"^{10.} and enjoy watching young women ^{11.} disporting themselves in a pool. No 'Sanādhyā Brahmanā' were at the disposal of Vālmiki or Tulsī, but Keśav mentions them several times. His hero Rām worships them. There are other minor additions; but they will be dealt with later under literary criticism.

Language: General Remarks:- The language of Rām-Candrikā is mainly 'Braj-Bhāṣā'. It is mixed with many 'Tatsam' Sanskrit words. Here and there also occur words taken from Bundelkhandī, a dialect of Western Hindi. Bundelkhandī proverbs are also used by way of illustration of a point or a precept.

10. Rck. Ch. XXIX

11. Rck. Ch. XXXII

I. Nominal Forms: (i) In general the Saṅskrit nouns in the book work are in the same form and gender as in Saṅskrit, e.g.

चंद्रिका Candrikā (V.21, Ch.I.), वृषभ Vṛṣbh (V.3, Ch.II.),

(ii) As there is no neuter gender in Hindi, Saṅskṛt nouns in the neuter have been treated as masculines, as मंदिर Mandir and शृंगर Śṛṅgan (V.8, Ch.VIII). But there are some

exceptions to this, e.g. आगि Āgi (V.65 and 66, Ch.XIII).

(iii) The poet uses several forms of a word as Keśav Dās and Keso Das; Āgi and Āg (V.5, Ch.XIV). etc.

(iv) In the nominative plural of feminine nouns ऐं ai often appears for खाई Boli, ऐं, as in बाहै bāhai (V.10. Ch.XVI) for बाहे bāhē; ऐ ai has been used in all sorts of words, i.e. in nouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs. The poet uses it even with proper nouns, e.g. लक्ष्मणो Lakshmanai (V.41, Ch.XVII), रामानुजो Rāmānujai (V.51, Ch.XVII).

(v) At some places he has added औ au to such nouns as सुबाहो Sabahau (V.22, Ch.XVIII), कुम्भकर्णौ Kumbhakarnau, इंद्रजितौ Indrajitau (V.7, Ch.XIX).

(vi) Masculines are changed into feminines with such suffixes as:

(a) Ā, e.g. विदेहजा सुता Videhajā sutā (V.4, Ch.XXXV); (b) Ī, e.g.

स्वर्णामयी Swarn mayī (V.4, Ch.XXXV); (c) Anī, e.g. मृदानी Mṛdānī (V.60, Ch.XIII); (d) Nī, as प्रियवादिनी Priyavādinī (V.34, Ch.XXXIII).

(vii) Following the general rule in Brajbhāṣā, he adds न na

to make the plural of nouns. If the letter preceding 'a' is immovable, he has moved it with 'a' e.g. घनन ghanan (V.88, Ch.XIII). There is one exception to this rule; if आ ā or ई ī occurring at the end of a word ~~are~~ immovable, ~~they~~ ~~are~~ not given a vowel, e.g. दरीन darīn (V.88, Ch.XIII), जायान jāyān (V.10. Ch.XIV).

(viii) Certain particles occurring at the termination of nouns add different meanings, and these also give the sense of possession and lordship, as भूपति bhūpālī (V.22, Ch.I), भुवपाल Bhuvapāl (V.24, Ch.VI), दुतिवतन dutivañtan (V.17, Ch.XIII).

II. Verbal Forms: The verbs in Rām-Candrikā, show the various forms of the Braj-bhāṣā verbal conjugations. The tense-terminations in Braj correspond generally with those of Khariboli.

(i) For final आ ā and ए e, Braj characteristically exhibits औ au and ऐ ai. Thus for करे karē there is करौ karāũ (V.44, Ch.IX), for मोहा mohā, मोहौ mohau (V.53, Ch.XII).

(ii) Keśav has mostly used verbs ending in ऐ ai, ऊँ ũ in the first singular. These and औ o in the second person plural of the future are changed into औ au; e.g. for कहूँ kahū̃ कहौ kahaũ (V.93, Ch.XIII); for आनो āno, आनौ ānau (V.15. Ch.XIV).

(iii) After verbal roots ending in आ ā, ई ī, औ o,

there is commonly found व V e.g. भावई bhāvai (V.5, Ch.XIV);
जिवावाहि ji vāvai (V.47, Ch.XVII), धोवै dhovai (V.22, Ch.VI)¹²

(iv) तु tu and यौ yau are found as terminations of both the imperfect and the perfect participles. Before तु tu roots in आ a sometimes take इय iy instead of व V ; e.g. for हारावतु hārāvatu there occurs हारियतु hāriyatu¹³ (V.13 Ch.XXVIII) .

(v) The conjunctive participles is formed by the affixes कै kai or करि kari, e.g. विलोकिकै vilokikai (V.6, Ch.XXIII), लै करि laikari (V.58 Ch.XXI). The former has been more used than the latter.

(vi) The terminations of the contingent future are (a) औं aũ, ओं ō, ऊं ũ; (b) ऐं ai in the singular and औं aũ, ऐं ai, अऊं aũ in the plural number.¹⁴

(vii) The termination हु hu is not separated from the preceding root,¹⁵ as it is sometimes in certain Braj works printed under English supervision.¹⁶

(viii) Some verbs have peculiar forms as from होनीं honaũ (to be) come हवै hvai (V.5, Ch.XII); हवै हौ hvai hau (V.95, Ch.XIII)¹⁷

12. Kellogg S.479.

13. Kellogg S.481.

14. Rck. Verses 13, 14, 35 of Ch. XXVI and Kellogg S.484.

15. Rck. V.14 Ch.XXXVIII

16. Kellogg (Rem.1) p.287

17. Kellogg S. 489.

(ix) There are some forms of Bundelkhandī verbs, as पनलागी panlāgī (V.16, Ch.XVII).

III. Adjectives. Adjectives are not so frequently used in Ram-cāndrikā:

(i) From a close study it is seen that ^{at} some places here the poet changes their forms according to the nouns, as सिगरे sigare (V.9, Ch.XVII), सिगरी sigarī (V.10, Ch.XVII); at other places he does not, as दीन बानी dīn bānī (V.33, Ch.XIX).

(ii) Some adjectives, chiefly 'tatsamas', assume certain Saṁskṛit terminations to indicate case and gender. Thus there often occur adjectives with Saṁskṛit *fem.* terminations ई ī and आ ā; e.g. कुशली kuśalī (V.35, Ch.XIX); विनीता vinītā (V.11, Ch.XX).
18.

IV. Other forms. Pronouns and adverbs do not vary from their Braj-forms.

Summing up, one may say that the poet has taken much liberty with his words to secure his alāṅkāras and metres. Thus at some places letters in a word are missing; at others a word has been distorted; e.g. ति ti occurs for तिय 'tiya' (a woman); चिचि chīchi for चिच chāch (V.31, Ch.XV). He has employed some Avadhī words such as इहाँ ihā, उहाँ uhā, दिखाउ dikhāu, रिभाउ rībhāu. The number of Bundelkhandī words is greater than that of Avadhī. Some words occur in the form in which they are

actually spoken in the villages in Bundelkhand; e.g. कुची
Kucī (V.3, Ch.XXX). There appear some Bundelkhandī proverbs
also, e.g. उठाय होंय के लई *uṭhāi hānthai lai* (V.65, Ch.XIII).

His liking for ambiguous meanings and varying metres
has made his language very difficult and for ordinary persons
it is beyond their comprehension. Even a learned scholar of
Hindi has to think and consult lexicons before he arrives at
the right meaning of the verses.

So it has been rightly said: "If you do not want to
give a poet a gift, ask the meaning of a poem of Keśav!"
Keśav's poems are archaic in style. This view differs from
that of Miśrabandhūs who, inspite of all the difficulties in
Keśav's poems, see in them merely simplicity and sweetness.^{19.}

V. General Remarks: (Literary Merits) Tulsī succeeded as
an epic-writer in great part because of his rendering of the
important portions of his story. The ability of a poet is
tested in no small measure by his choice of such matters.
The writer of Rām-candrikā does not seem to have cared for so
important a matter of technique in epic-writing, hence his
book does not touch the heart of his readers. From the short
sketch of the narrative it has been seen that Keśav has used
the same story as Tulsī, but with a difference. In the latter

19. Hindi Navratna by Miśrabandhūs P.488.

are delightful descriptions of Dasarath's family, Rām's childhood and his charming ways. Again Tulsī has created the 'garden-scene' in which Rām and Sītā have a glimpse of each other. Further his accounts of Bharat's self-reproaches, of the assembly at Citrakūṭa, Rām's lamentations at the loss of Sītā, his remorse at the swooning of Lakshman in the battlefield, make his book natural and living. But in Rām-candrīkā these incidents and their human side are entirely lacking.

Dasarath, the King of Avadh, had four sons; Rām and three
20. others.

In this bare brief statement he introduces to the hearer the hero whose feats and character are to arouse him, hold him in suspense and win his admiration. In the next verse he speaks about the city of Avadh, and in the following
21. one about Viśwāmitra's coming to bring Rām to his aid.

He does not pause to indicate how or why Rām, the divine incarnation, was born and how he passed his pleasant childhood. There is no such domestic, human touch as a reference to the tinkling of his childish ornaments which was so dearly cherished by his mother in Tulsī's work. But Keśav had little or no thought of such homely, ordinary interests. He looked on art objectively. It presented itself to him in its formal aspect, in external relations and symmetry. Hence he gives long descriptions of gardens, ponds and trees. But it is clear from

20. Rck. V.22 - 1st Ch.

21. Rck. V.24 Ch.I.

these that these natural objects have not awakened much sentiment in him.

Again he gives vivid descriptions of the princes present at Sītā's Swayambara through the mouth of a 'Brāhmaṇ' at Viśvāmitra's 'āśram' and this continues from Verse 13 of Ch.III to Verse 2 of the Vth. Thus Rām and the company know all about the Swayambar while still distant from Janak's city. Tulsī, on the other hand, makes brief mention of these princes when Rām and others are in the Swayambar. It is odd to find such long accounts of the princes given during a conversation.

Further there is a long account of²² conversations between Vānās²³, a demon, and Rāvan, which occupies the whole of Ch.II. It is strange to think that the poet has never dwelt on the interesting features of the story with the same attention as he has devoted to imaginary and purposeless colloquies, which disrupt the flow of the story and its charm. Again, he has failed to give the complete form of the story. Dasarath²⁴ sends Bharat and Śatrughna to Bharat's maternal uncle's place. Next he decides to abdicate in favour of Rām.²⁵ In the meantime Kaikeie asks that her two promised boons be granted, but it is not mentioned there whether this is agreed²⁵ or not. Next he tells of the departure of Rām towards the forest.

22. Rck. V.I. Ch.IX.

23. Rck. V.2, Ch.IX.

24. Rck. V3, Ch.IX

25. Rck. V.5, Ch.IX.

On hearing of this Kausilyā, his mother, prepares to go with him, but he reminds her of the duties of a wife to her husband. There is no mention of her maternal instinct and wishes. Again, without any previous mention of him, Lakshman sets out with Rām to go to Sītā. Sītā and he entreat him to grant permission to accompany him. Without further elaboration 26. Rām is shown on the way to the forest. At the mere hearing of his departure Dasarath falls dead. Thus the poet has not mentioned the paternal feelings of Dasarath or of his pressing solicitations to Rām to remain in Avadh which play so vital a part in Tulsī's poems. Either Keśav shirked in his abrupt transitions, poignant description or was incapable of the personal feeling which is a necessary condition of being able to arouse it in others. Psychology would have no difficulty in discerning that he was not merely living on the surface or balancing on the outer edge, but that he was not sensible of, or else had become insensible to, ordinary human emotions. Thus he has not described the assembly at Citrakūt, which is one of the most pathetic and philosophical touches in Tulsī.

In Ch.XI, Rām hastens forward to Pancvaṭī. Surpanakhā meets him there and proposes marriage. After speaking of her ill plight the poet tells of the abduction of Sītā, Rām's proceeding towards Pampāsar and his friendship with Hanumān and

Sugrīv. Hanumān goes to Lāṅkā and sees Sītā. Thus the poet unduly and without appreciation of the human side hurries along in this story towards the XXth chapter, in which Rāvan is defeated. Rām meets with Sītā and they set out for Avadh. Obviously he has not succeeded in giving continuous form to the hero's story, nor has he touched on incidents pathetic in themselves or suggesting pathos. Like a magician by sleight of hand he changes the course of the story and the miraculous happens without previous indication.

In the remaining 19 chapters he describes only three main events in the hero's life: his return to Ayodhyā, his coronation and the exile of Sītā, the birth of Lav and Kuśa and their fighting with Rām's party.

His book contains some 1668 verses. The main story occupies about one thousand of these and the remainder are devoted to fanciful statements and dogmatic opinions. These are irrelevant to the main theme and unsuited to the "flavour" of the poems. He has devoted about two chapters to Rām's derogatory speeches in the assembly of saints about kingship and life. This seems entirely out of place here as there was no need to talk of the evils of kingship and of human life before such great saints as Vālmiki and Vyās, who had already renounced the world and its ways.^{27.}

27. Rck. Chapters 23 and 24.

Then a chapter is given to the conciliatory speeches of Vasiṣṭha to Rām.^{28.} Rām was the incarnation of God and so was able to deliver saintly homilies before even the greatest saints, and therefore these long conciliatory speeches of Vasiṣṭha to Rām are not in keeping with the relative merit and dignity of the two. On this and several other occasions one feels inclined to say that Keśav, priding himself on his great knowledge, has played with the narrative and the poems in the epic.

Further the latter indicate strongly his pride in his own caste, viz. Saṇādhya Brāhmanās. His Bharadwāj says to Rām, "Do not think of Brāhmanās as human beings. Consider them as the very image of Viṣṇu."^{29.} To Keśav Brāhmanās^{30.} were like the great deity Viṣṇu. Tulsī had similar ideas, but he was a staunch believer in the caste system of India, based on the proper distribution of human activities, and so he expressed such ideas as being inherent in or springing from his religion, and not with a view to show the dignity and standing of his caste and thus of himself. But Keśav's case is different. Not satisfied with praise of Brāhmanās in general he praises more this sub-section to which he belongs, the Saṇādhya. Therefore the saint Bharadwāj says to Rām:

28. Rck. Chapter 25.

29. Rck. V.5 Ch.21.

"(Viṣṇu told Mahādev) that when the lotus-plant grew up and spread all over from my navel, Brahmā with his four mouths was produced from it. According to Brahmā's wishes four sons were born to him, and Brāhmaṇās who were born according to the wishes of these sons were called 'Sanādhyā'^{31.}".

Thus the Sanādhyās are the off-spring of the Creator himself.

There are other instances of the great respect paid to them.

Rām washes the feet of Sanādhyās and presents to them some villages.^{32.} He worships them to the exclusion, at first,

of other Brāhmaṇās and Ṛṣis.^{33.} Brahmā, the Creator, praises

them^{34.} and tells Rām to kill Lavaṇāsura, so as to be able to confer on them some villages in Mathurā-district. Rām praises

them and says: "Whoever is devoted to Sanādhyā Brāhmaṇās cannot be hurt even by the trident of Śiva."^{35.} When Śatrughna

kills Lavaṇāsura, Indra and the gods are pleased and ask him what boons he would like. Śatrughna asks that "Whoever takes away the property of Sanādhyās, should be completely ruined,"^{36.}

31. Rck. V.17-18 Ch.XXI

32. Rck. V.36 Ch.XXVI

33. Rck. V.23 Ch.XXVII

34. Rck. V.10 Ch.XXXIII

35. Rck. V.45 Ch.XXXIV

36. Rck. V.55 Ch.XXXIV

and whoever serves them should be happy, but their opponents be otherwise.^{37.}

As suggested before Keśav has not given fitting narration of the story of his hero, and the question arises: If he did not tell the whole story, what were the matters or objects which he did place before his listener or reader, and what aspects or qualities in them interested him? His readers will be in a position to answer that he has dealt with four things elaborately. His approach was by way of the physical or external, rather than the metaphysical or introspective and humanitarian with concern for the why and wherefore of things. It can be said of him that

- (1) Pomp and pageantry appealed to him;
- (2) Physical beauty attracted him;
- (3) Novelty or invention added to the story-interest;
- (4) Fighting was spectacular and could be graphically described.

1. Thus he depicts the splendours of the city of Ayodhyā, and the pomp and show at the Swayambar at Mithilā, and the like, but there is scarcely any light and shade in his painting of his characters; a high and hard light beats down and there is no softness and tenderness or reference to the childhood of Rām, and of his relatives and intimates. The self-sacrifice and heart-felt affection of Bharat which Tulsī

rendered with such idealism, he could not portray, or the pathos in Dasrath's bitter frustration.

2. He has described/^{at} great length the statuesque body of Rām,^{38.} but shown no picture of the more attractive subject of his behaviour with others. Sītā's beauty he has chosen for mention but not her captivating gait, or the nuances of emotion in her beautiful features.^{39.} Tulsī has treated such themes in so different a manner as to make it regrettable that Keśav could not conceive of the tender feelings of a princely spouse venturing voluntarily, and even against the affectionate protests of her husband. Other instances are found in the account of the beauty of Sītā's maid,^{40.} and of Rām's playing in the pond.

3. Keśav has added some fictitious incidents in his work. For instance Rām goes to play caugān, a game which is mentioned in the Pahlavī Karnāmak and the Shah-nāmā record of the Sasanian period of Persian history and has often supplied Persian poets with similes ever since.^{41.} *The game* was introduced into India by the Muslims. It has received a long description here.

38. Rck. V.46 to 58 Ch.VI

39. Rck. V.59 Ch.VI. Also Vs.40 to 43 Ch.IX.

40. Rck. Ch.XXXI.

41. Browne: Literary Hist. of Persia, II, 38, 463.

Again, a dog comes into the court of Rām with grievances and tells the story of a Maṭhpati (owner of a religious endowment).

Next there enters on the scene a Saṇādhya Brāhmaṇ.

It has already been seen how Keśav, to fulfil his personal end, introduces Brahmā in Rām's court, and at his instigation Lavaṇāsura is killed to endow the Saṇādhya with some property. True poetry deals impartially with the subjects of its theme and does not admit of any special pleading or advocacy, whereas this author has made his poem exhibit his personal predilections.

4. Keśav has described the fighting elaborately. 42.
The battle between Rām and Rāvaṇ occupies three chapters. Likewise three go to the battle between Lava and Kuśa against Rām and his party. In his account of this battle the author has achieved great success and there is true poetry in Sītā's rebuke of Lava and Kuśa for having so acted as to bring about the slaughter of their uncles and their men. The innocent plea of Lava and Kuśa at this point is heart-moving. Further the true maternal traits in Sītā's character are shown when all the dead are restored to life because of her sincere womanliness.

One might judge Keśav in the light of the three qualities which Tolstoy thought to be essential to a work of art:

"First a correct, that is a moral, relation of the author to his subject; secondly, beauty of form; and thirdly sincerity, that is love of what the author describes."^{43.}

The fact that Keśav dedicated his most admired work Kavi-Priyā to a famous courtesan of his time does not lead one to think that his standard of personal morality was so very high as to befit him to present a picture of deity holy and supreme, and holy in his contacts with human beings.

→ Beauty of form was a chief interest with him, but was often satisfied with sensuous or imagined delights.

Whilst sincerity of love for his subject is not doubted, it is evident that form in conception and expression chiefly engaged his attention. Rhetoric and its laws reduced substance to a subordinate position.

II. Nature in Rām-cāndrikā:- As has already been stated Keśav, through his pride in accomplishment short of the ideal greatly undermined the genuine quality of his poetry. This is also the case in his allusions to Nature. He describes everything that Tulsī made his reader observe, but his love

43. Desmond MacCarthy: in Sunday Times, 10th Oct. 1948.

of Alākārās led him to adapt his verses to suit them. And so, while describing the garden of Dasarath he mentions various beautiful trees and flowers, yet he does not make their fragrance real to the reader. They serve his purpose well when he describes a beautiful maiden under pretext of describing a garden. He virtually represents external nature in the figure of a beautiful maiden. His extreme sensuousness did not let him see the underlying beauty of meaning in Nature. While looking on flowers and fruits he seems to be thinking of maidens and their graceful movements. Again when he describes the forests in which Viśwāmitra lived, he enumerates a number of trees which do not actually occur in the forests of Bihār, such as Lavāg, Pūgīfālā, and Rajhāsa.^{44.} In doing so he has followed the tradition of Sanskrit literature. A similar description of a forest is given in Kādambarī.^{45.} It will be noticed later that the writer of Privaṇṇaśas has followed the same line. Indeed it has been a common practice of poets in India and Persia to draw from a stock of names of flowers and plants, and to use such terms irrespective of their local appropriateness. It has been remarked above that Keśav's descriptions of Nature

44. Rck. V.I. Ch.III.

45. 'Kāthāmr̥k' of Kādambarī:- तमाल हिंताल अकुल बहुलै; सल लता कुलित नारि केलि
Kādambarī:- तमाल हिंताल अकुल बहुलै; सल लता कुलित नारि केलि रलै
त्रोल लोप्य धवली लवंग पल्लवे; उल्लसित चूत रेणु परलै रलै
अलिकुल अंकुरै; इत्यादि:-

are sensuous, but his sensuousness differs from that of the English poet Keats. The latter was susceptible to beauty, and wheresoever he saw it he was charmed by it. Hence he was naturally attracted towards the beautiful in Nature and his enthusiasms are genuine and impressions imperishable. On the other hand Kesav had a Grecian admiration for beauty, especially of its physical embodiment. He is sensuous and even sensual.

His similes too, with their far-fetched imagination,^{46.} have greatly marred the sense of his natural descriptions. His ambiguous phrases (slesh, paronomasia) in his accounts of Nature never touch the heart but rather evoke a sense of humour; e.g. ^{47.}*firstly*, as soon as the moon wishes to go in a westerly direction, the sun makes her devoid of lustre and beauty. The second meaning is, 'As soon as a Brāhman wishes to drink wine, the deity, at once, makes him poor and insignificant.' The Equivoque has long figured among Indian poets as a feat of ingenuity, but this aiming "at two birds with one stone" has led to great ambiguity in his poems and reduced the sense of their genuineness. He sometimes compares

46. Please see 'Figures of speech', *ahead*, *infra* 171.

47. Rck. V.14 Ch.V.

one natural thing with another but does not succeed in drawing
48.
an apt likeness.

III. Characterisation: The characters in Rām-Candrikā are the same as in Rām-Cḥarit-Mānas but they cut here a different figure owing to this author's pride in the specious. He has made his characters differ in some aspects from those of Vālmiki and Tulsī. // Rām, the Hero: In the examination made earlier of Rām-Cḥarit-Mānas it was noted that Rām had been painted as
49.
the perfect ideal man. He is an incarnation of the Supreme Deity, but by his manliness he captivates the human heart. Rām in Rām-Candrikā, however, has not been painted so well. There is here no detail of childhood. He plays a heroic part when he refuses to kill Tāṣkā on the chivalrous ground of her being a woman, and when he breaks the bow of Śiva, but in this work he is not the Rām whom Tulsī painted as subduing Paraśurām by his sober and tactful words, for here Mahādev
50.
has to come and do his utmost to reconcile the two at variance.

Rām here teaches a wife's duties to his mother when she persists in accompanying him to the forest. Keśav seems to forget that Rām is the son of Kaśīlyā, and that it is unmannerly on his part to counsel her in this manner. It is no defence at all to maintain that he was a God.

49. See p. 120.

50. Rck. V.43 Ch.VII.

Both writers have worthily depicted Rām's heroism in winning the battle of Lānkā and recovering his beloved help-mate, but Keśav has not done well by Rām's character when he writes of him as sitting in the place where girls of 16 years of age come and dance and sing around him. Not only this, but he is shown peeping into the pond where Sītā and her maids are playing, and himself joins in the play there. In these respects Keśav has failed to identify his hero more closely with mortals, and has impaired the majesty of his greatness and holiness, and thereby has done an injustice to him as tradition, authors and believers have cherished him. But in his last chapter he has done something which retrieves the position of Rām and restores his dignity by making him exile his wife and purposely allow all the members of his party to fall in the battle of Lav and Kuśa as he aimed at destroying their vanity. Rām acts justly as king and father when he equally distributes the kingdom among his own sons and those of his brothers.^{51.}

Sītā: As the heroine of the poem she remains the same beautiful princess and dutiful wife as painted by Tulsī. But due to insufficient direction of the characters and of their conduct even Sītā has sometimes been placed in an awkward situation. For instance when Rām tells her to remain in

51. Rck. Ch. IXL

Ayodhyā, she says that she has heard the duties of a wife from his own lips a little before when he had stated them to his mother, and would observe them sincerely; she had overheard the conversation between him and his mother.^{52.} But such eavesdropping was hardly proper behaviour on the part of a princess.

She bravely shares the hardships of the forest equally with her husband. She is sorely tried in the garden of Rāvan by his attentions and her resistance shows the sincerity of her loyalty.^{53.} She gladly returns with her husband to Ayodhya and levels no reproach at anyone for her exile. Her rebuke to her sons who killed all of Rām's party is worth noting for its directness. The sublime loftiness of her character is recognised by its securing the restoration to life of all the slain.^{54.}

Subordinate Characters: Lakshman is the same affectionate brother, trusty, confidant, and brave servant of Rām as in Tulsī Dās, except that in the latter the detail is fuller.

Dasarath and Bharat do not fill, as in Tulsī, their respective roles so whole-heartedly and convincingly.

52. Rck. V.24 Ch.IX

53. Rck. 61 to 65 verses Ch.XIII

54. Rck. V.10 Ch.XLV

Hamūmān has been dealt with more fairly. He is shown to be a true servant to Rām and a help to him in recovering Sita. He is also a brave warrior; he set fire to the island of Lankā and saved Vibhīṣaṇ from the unerring arrow of Rāvan. Till the end he remained loyal and dutiful.

Āngad has been given a more wordly shape than in Tulsī. In spite of his association with Rām, he still has left a corner in his heart full of a passionate desire to revenge the death of his father. Rām provides him an opportunity in the battle with Lav and Kuśa and thereby his vengeful instinct is appeased. Āngad had behaved roughly with Mandodarī, and so the demon king Rāvan leaves his Yagya. Āngad's action was reprehensible. It was a violation of the lofty ideals of old Indian life which would not allow the use of force towards the weaker sex; it has been seen for instance how Rām had refused to kill Tāḍkā. Thus Keśav has marred the charm in the brave character of Āngad. Perhaps the poet has painted him as a monkey-prince, in which case his conduct is not surprising; but the question remains: Were Āngad and his race really monkeys?

Śatrughna has been given a little more importance in Ram-Candrika. He kills Lavanasur and makes over the villages to Sanaḍhyas. In the battle with Lav and Kuśa he brings down

55. The Miśrabandhūs have mentioned this event but have not criticized it. (Hindi-Navratna) p.48.

56. See Rem. "अंशान सहित देह धरि ताता। करिहैं -चरित भक्त सुबदाता॥" (Bāl. after D.23.)

57. Chap. XXXIV

Lav senseless, but later Kuśa triumphs and overpowers him. Lav and Kuśa, the two brave sons of Rām, prove their noble descent and inherent worth by their gallant fight. But their fortitude and prowess in battle do not interest the hearer or reader in them as does their protest of innocence to their mother, the exiled Sītā. When she rebukes them for killing all their kith and kin, Kuśa offers the injured plea: "Mother, why do you blame me? When you heard that they had captured my brother Lav, you sent me there and at no time did you tell me that Rām was my father."⁵⁸ Here Keśav's heart betrays some emotion as the gallant Kuśa who overpowered all the mighty warriors in Rāvan's battle, and even Bharat and Rām, makes this reasoned argument before his mother. He makes plain to view the sacred ties that bind the members of a Hindu family where child and parent recognise their mutual obligations.

Vibhīṣaṇ, brother of Rāvan, is more human than in Tulsī. He helps Rām in the battle, but is ridiculed by the poet as he is made to leave the party of his own brother and bring about the ruin of his own family. Lav laughed at the mere sight of him and taunted him: "Come, oh Vibhīṣaṇ,⁵⁹ the only ornament of your family."

58. Rck. V.41 Ch. XL.

59. Rck. V.15 Ch. XXXVII.

IV. Figures of Speech: If in criticism of Keśav's work it be said that its external embellishment is more conspicuous than the genuineness of its verse, it will not be an exaggeration. When invention is secondary the figurative tendency in language grows stronger and more systematic. Keśav is never satisfied with a few Alākārās or a limited variety of metres. He has put several of the former into a single verse and various metres in a single chapter. For example we find "Śleṣa", "Vakrokti",^{60.} "Vyajstuti" and "Anuprās" in one verse. As for metres he changes them frequently as if he wished to show his knowledge of prosody and his ability to make use of its rules; e.g. in the first chapter there are 51 Verses and about 27 various metres. He derived much of his knowledge of metres from Sanskrit writers, but was not satisfied with this and has^{61.} introduced his own, such as 'Sugīt verse'.

Similes in Rām-Āndrikā clearly manifest his aim to achieve the unusual or the striking, whether they sensibly correspond or not with the object being described. For instance at one place he compares the Sun to Indra's umbrella, at another (in the same verse) to a skull full of blood in the^{62.} hand of a 'kāpālik'. Viśwāmitra says of the Sun, "The

60. Rck. V.16 Ch. V.

61. Rck. Ch.I.

62. Rck. V.10 Ch.V (Kāpālik is a mendicant practising penances).

red-faced monkey-like Sun climbed up the tree-like sky and made all the flower-like stars fall by shaking." ^{63.} His poems contain numerous similes of this sort. It may be remarked here in contrast that the poetry of Rām-Carit-Mānas has been illumined and made more effective by appropriate similes. In Keśav it is otherwise. One example may be cited by way of illustration. Tulsī and Keśav have both given fanciful accounts of the Moon. In Tulsī's work Rām asked about the dark Spot in the Moon, ^{64.} while he was sitting with his friends in the battle-field of Laṅkā. ^{65.} Sugrīv, the monkey-chief said it was the shadow of the earth. Another declared that Rāhu hit the moon and the spot marks the place of the blow. (There is a mythological story that Rāhu, a demon succeeded in joining a dinner-party of the gods, given by Indra. The Moon as one of the gods was there, and it was the Moon who disclosed the secret of Rāhu's presence. He was then cut in two, and the pieces are known as Rāhu and Ketu. Rāhu struck the Moon, and the black spot remains there as proof. Hindu Mythology explains the Lunar Eclipse as due to attacks by Rāhu, and the Eclipse is partial or full according to the area engrossed by Rāhu).

64. Rcm. P.514 (ed. by R. Bhaṭṭa).

65. कह सुगीब सुनहु रघुराई। सासि भई प्रगट मनेकी दाई॥

Another remarked that the creator gave shape to Rati; ^{66.} he extracted the essential portion of the moon to effect his purpose, and the hole still remains. Rām said that poison ^{67.} is the brother of the moon, and with his poisonous rays the moon produces the heart-ache and pains of the separated. Finally Hanumān made his contribution: "Hearken my Lord! the moon is your dear servant, therefore he keeps your dark shape in his heart and it is shown in the Spot."^{68.}

This long passage with its similes shows that Tulsī was well-versed in Hindu Mythology. And the separation of lovers, a source of tears in all erotic literature and in the devotional writings of the mystics, Rām regards as something vitiating happiness. The Spot looked to him like poison which could be communicated to mortals and bring the longing and ache of separation, as it had then to himself and Sītā.

Rām and Hanumān looked at the self-same thing, but they interpreted it differently. A psychologist might say that each found in it a reflection of his own idea; for one

66. The Wife of Kāma~~dev~~, the God of Love; she is considered to be the most beautiful of women.

67. Mythology relates that gods and demons overpowered the ocean and obtained 14 gems, including poison and the Moon; hence these two are brothers.

68. कहूँ हनुमंत सुनहु प्रभु, ससि तुम्हार प्रिय दास।
तब मूरति तेहि उर बसति, सोइ स्यावताभास॥ (Laiṅkā D. 114)

it was a canker eroding happiness, a poison; the other saw a treasury imaged in it.

On the other hand Keśav describes the Moon in his characteristic showy manner. ^{69.} Sītā says "(It) is a beautiful new bouquet of flowers thrown away by Sacī (Indra's wife) after smelling it; it is like the looking-glass of Rati; the cushion of Kāmdēv, the god of Love; again it is an ear-ornament of pearls, left by the Sun's wife.....". Then Rām compares the Moon to "a lotus, growing in the Milky Way; to a resting place of Śeṣa in the milky ocean, on which Viṣṇu is sitting thinking it to be a deer-skin." (Mrgchālā or skin spread on the ground is regarded as making a very sacred place to sit; so it has been used by Hindu saints and is still.) Thus Keśav has confined himself to the flowers, the bouquet, the looking-glass and the ornament for his similes, so clearly manifesting his contentment with the objective. His poetic genius did not thrive in this atmosphere of worldliness, and his poems do not generally strike a chord in the heart. A few verses in Rām-Candrikā show him stirred to genuine emotion and seeking its expression. An illustration of this is found in Hanumān's account of Sītā's forlorn state in her separation. ^{70.} He says, "Hearken, my Lord Rām, due to your separation such is Sītā's plight; as the female *black bee*

69. See Vs.41 to 45 Ch.XXX.

70. See V.29 Ch. XIV.

roams about in the forests so she wanders about in the Aśoka garden, searching for you among the dark trees and creepers of the garden (as these resemble you in colour); as the female goose always desires the tender lotus-plant, so Sītā ever longs to hold your lotus-like arms; as a hind never approaches the abode of a lion, so Sītā never goes towards that part of the garden where the Keśar (a reed) grows; as the female serpent seeks a hole on hearing the voice of a peacock, so Sītā wishes to hide that she may not hear the voice of^a peacock. 71. In her devotion she is like a female Cātak ever asking: 'Where are you my dearest one? and like a Cakaī (female curlew) becomes speechless on seeing the Moon." 72.

There are a few anachronisms in Rām-Cāndrikā. For instance in Ch.XXXI Rām plays "Caugān" (polo), a game in vogue among Muslims in Akbar's age, but not current at the time here treated of. Tulsī has committed a similar mistake:

ते तव सिर कुंदुक इव नाना। खेलिहोहिं भालु कीस योगाना ॥ (Lahhāṛāh).

Again he mentions the "Jainās" as abusing the river Ganges. Hindus regard this river as sacred and call her "mother". It would not be unnatural for the "Jainās" to abuse the Ganges, but it is doubtful whether at the time of Rām, they existed as a separate sect. 73.

71. This voice is supposed to produce pains in separated couples.

72. Moon is regarded as an inspirer of love and sensuousness so it afflicts separated lovers.

73. See Rām-Cāndrikā p.250.

V. The Supernatural Element: In Rām-Cāndrikā Rām appears in a two-fold aspect or capacity. On the one hand as a human individual and a king he meets with experiences and faces adventures; on the other he is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, or rather of the Almighty, who had come to earth to rectify the wrong. In Vālmiki's Rāmāyan the former aspect of Rām is successfully depicted and the latter only just mentioned.^{74.} In Rām-Carit-Mānas the two capacities are embodied in one person so inseparably and harmoniously that there is no monophysite or monothelite controversy such as has characterised Christian doctrine. Tulsī fittingly described the great exploits of his hero and the peace and prosperity of his reign, but all the while he reminds one that Rām is the incarnation of Viṣṇu, the God Himself, whereas in Rām-Cāndrikā the latter aspect is more prominent than the former. The author tells the whole story of Rām, but has not endeavoured to depict his ideal human shape and his composite character. Tulsī differs from him vastly in this respect. He has described his characters possessing supernatural powers in such a human way that they seem to line up with mortals. One is happy with them, can weep with them and be angry as they become angry. It is for this reason that Tulsī stands before millions of people not only as a true poet, but also

74. See p. 141.

as a social reformer. They find an ideal in his characters. But in Rām-Āndrikā the characters stand like skeletons and the reader has to give them flesh and blood out of his own ideas.

In Chapter II Viśwāmitra clearly speaks of the divine powers of Rām. Over all the risks in his life Rām triumphs through this power. He seems to cease to be supernatural only when he is described as a king, enjoying the pleasures of the palace and dallying in the pond. This description has done injustice both to Rām and to Hindu sentiment.

As an Epic: Before proceeding to consider the merits of Rām-Āndrikā as an epic it is necessary to understand and appreciate its author's idea of poetry.

It has already been stated that he had studied a good deal of Sanskrit literature and been greatly influenced by Daṇḍin, Pratihārendu Rāj, Bhāmah, Rudraṭ and Vāman, writers on Sanskrit poetics. Keśav proceeded on their lines and so to understand his views it is desirable to know theirs. The first four of them belong to ^{the} Alākār school. They laid much emphasis on the Alākāras, but were not indifferent to "Rasa", for Bhāmah says that an epic (Mahākāvya) should contain the "Rasās"; ^{75.} still to them the Alākārās were the most

75. युक्तम् लोकस्वभावेन सौम्यं च सक्तम्; पृथक् (1921).

important part of poetry. "Bhāmah and Daṇḍin hardly made a distinction between Alākārās and Gunās." ^{76.} Vāman is the foremost representative of the 'Rīti' school; Daṇḍin also favours it, ^{man} ~~Vāman~~ boldly asserts that 'Rīti' is the soul of poetry; that it consists in the special arrangement or combination of words and this specially lies in the possession of Gunās. ^{77.} He. Vāman speaks of ten gunās of words and the same number in the sphere of sense. Daṇḍin speaks of these same gunās but does not distinguish between them. Bhāmah mentions only three, viz. Mādhurva (lucidity), Ojas (vitality), Prasād (simplicity). Nowadays these three alone are recognised, whereas Keśav's poems contain only ojas. Actually the "Rīti" school is a development of the Alākārā.

Then there is the Vakrokti, an expression which literally means "crooked" and requires the reader to search for a significant meaning beyond the face-value of the words. Daṇḍin explains it as a counter form of Swabhāvokti or natural expression. Such Alākārās as 'Śleṣa' which give two meanings to a verse are used for this purpose. ^{78.} Bhāmah

76. Intr. to Sahitya-darpana by P.V. Kane.

77. रीतिरत्मा काव्यस्य, विशिष्ट पद-स्वना रीतिः, विशेषो गुणात्मा।

78. श्लेषः सर्वान् पुष्पाति प्रायोवक्रोक्तिं प्रियम्। भिन्नं द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्रोक्तिश्चेति वाङ्मयम्॥

required it in all Alākārās. ^{79.} The writer of Vakroktijivit ^{80.} makes it the soul of poetry. Then there is the Dhvani-school; a writer of this school, the author of Dhwanyālok says that the best poetry is that which contains suitable ^{81.} suggestion (Vyāgya). This accords with the view of Wordsworth ^{82.} that poetry is the "spontaneous overflow of powerful meanings". Kēśav placed such ideals before him which accepted Alākār, Rīti, Vakrokti, and Dhvani as the essence of poetry. ^{83.}

On the other hand writers like Bharat ^{84.} Pluni, Kavirāj Viśwanāth held that Rasa is the soul of poetry. Mammaṭā-carya found a middle way between these two conflicting views and maintained that good poetry should contain both, but Rasa ^{85.} is the essential part.

The author of Rām-Cāndrikā adopted the former view, with the result, as already seen, that he has not succeeded in composing genuine verse. "To arouse the selfsame feelings

78

79. वक्राभिधेय शब्देक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलङ्कृतिः।

80. वक्रोक्तिर्काव्यजीवितम्

81. Dhwanyālok pp.181-182.

82. See Intr. to Sāhityadarpan by Kame

83. विभावानुभाव व्यभिचारि संयोगाद्रस निष्पत्तिः।

84. वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यं।

85. प्रभु सम्मित शब्द----- शब्दार्थयोर्गुणा भवेन रसाद्भूत व्यापार प्रवशातया विलक्षणां---- यत्काव्यं----। (KAVYA-PRAKASH ed. S.N. Sastri)

86.
in others as are in himself is the poet's mission. To
accomplish this he must be impartial, sincere in himself and
towards his subjects. It is questionable whether Keśav out
of sincere love of his subject could be one with it. He
was too much occupied with externality and this led him away
from recognising the underlying reality. Lālā Bhagwān dīn,
the editor of Rām-Cāndrikā, has rightly expressed this:
"The great number of metres (depending on letters) proves
that the poet had this in mind that illustrations of various
metres must be given. And the great number of Alākārās
show that he thought that his book must contain examples of
all the Alākārās.^{87.}

The Miśra-bādhūs, well-known for their Hindi literary
histories in particular, have said: "In this book (Rām-Cāndrikā)
Keśav changes the metres so quickly that these are never
uninteresting.^{88.} In the view of these critics such a change
preserves interest. But it may be objected to this that
there is no quick change of metres in Rām-Carit-Mānas and that
these same critics have declared it to be the most interesting
volume in Hindi, and Tulsī the greatest poet.^{89.}

86. See Kāvya mē Rahasya Vād by Pl. R.C. Sukla p.29.

87. See Preface to Keśav-Kaumudī by Lālā Bhagwān dīn.

88. See Hindi-Navratna p.485 (4th ed.)

89. See Hindi-Navratna (TULSĪ DAS).

As against their opinion it can be maintained that the too frequent change of metres is disturbing to the tempo and to the thought, and that it has not added to the interest but sometimes made the situation look ridiculous even. Lālā Bhagwandin has rightly commented: "Even in the first chapter the eight verses have been written in such a manner as to provide the pupil with examples of single-worded metre up to 90. eight-worded.

Dialogues: Most of the poems in Rām-Cāndrikā come in the form of dialogues. Characters converse with each other and thus the narrative progresses. The origin of this arrangement of poems, and dialogues is to be sought in the oldest book of Indian learning, the R̥gveda. Hymns addressed there to Usā are admirable specimens of poetry, and it contains some good dialogues, e.g. of Sarama and Pānis, and of rivers with the sage Viśwāmitra. These dialogues are the precursors of Sanskrit drama. So in their origin, poems and dialogues went hand in hand, and it was not till later that they separated each to form its own ~~treasury~~ repertory. It was the famous

90. See Preface to Kesav-Kaumudi by Lālā Bhagwān Dīn.

91. हा सुपर्णासयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते । तयोरेक पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनन्नं न्योमि-
चाकञ्जीति (R̥g. I-164-20)

92. See R̥g. X 108

93. See R̥g. III 33.

Saṅskrit dramatist Bhāsa who influenced Keśav most. The latter was a great admirer of his dramas as he was also of the Saṅskrit epic Śisupālvadh by Māgh. From Bhāsa he took the dialogue, and from Māgh the difficult phraseology, and these two combined to cut across the natural flow of the poems and mar the developement of "Rasās". Sometimes his conversational passages are contained in only a line or two each.

From the above it seems certain that Keśav's view of poetry misled him. Rām-Cāndrika observes the three essential features of an epic.

But as for "Rasas" none has been fully developed and a main "Rasa" can hardly be traced. There is only one really emotional scene, that in the last chapter where Sītā reproves her son and he protests his innocence. So Keśav's poetry looks like a damsel adorned with a multitude of ornaments on a somewhat gaunt figure.

The language of Rām-Cāndrikā has become so peculiarly stylised after his conception of the poetic art and his mannerisms that it is stiff and sometimes unintelligible. Keśav has thus failed to observe the great dictate: 'Fame, expression and wealth are only good when they serve every one's purpose equally.' His verses can not be appreciated by one and all. I.A. Richards has rightly remarked: "Language has succeeded recently in hiding from us almost

all the things we talk about." 94.

The poems do not elucidate the problems of their age. Tulsī has allowed one to gain a realistic impression of his time, and it is possible to understand how he was a product of his age and came before the perplexed masses with his message of peace and tolerance. But Keśav, though his contemporary, does not seem to be interested in the general public. He has drawn on his own ideas and fancies to please himself and his patron, hence his vivid descriptions of countenances, gardens, ponds and sport.

The late Prof. Abercrombie says, "Epic... material is fragmentary..... . But for this to be worked into some great structure of epic-poetry, the heroic age must be capable of producing a personality of profounder nature. He makes this heap of matter a grand design....." 95. This is true of Vālmiki and Tulsī. The former erected his superb poem on the traditional story of Rām and the Rākshavās, Tulsī borrowed much from Vālmiki, but went further, and he also took materials from Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇ and Hanumannāṭak. He was a product of his age, which was one of political depression and economic stress. But Keśav would neither build to a grand design from his materials nor force them to obey a single presiding unity 96. of artistic purpose.

94. Also quoted in 'Kavyame Rahasya Vād' by R.C. Śukla P.82.

95. The Epic p.88.

96. See The Epic p.16.

It must therefore be concluded that while his poem can be classified as an epic, it has not claims or merits sufficient to entitle it to high rank in this class of literature. Perhaps thinking of such epics Tennyson wrote,

".....said Hall,
Why take the style of those heroic times?
For nature brings not back Mastodon,
Nor we those times, and why should any man
Remodel models? these twelve books of mine,
.....
Mere chaff and draff, much better burnt." 97.

VI. THE MODERN PERIOD:-

1. PRIYA-PRAVĀS)

2. SĀKETA.)

3. KĀMA-YANĪ.)

as representative epics.

INTRODUCTION

Nominally Keśav Dās Miśra belonged to the Bhakti-period, but he laid the foundations of the Rīti-era which lasted about two hundred years, viz. from 1700 to 1900 A.D. After Keśav most of the poets of this period wrote on Rhetoric and Alā-kāras and generally in praise of their patrons. It is regrettable that the soul of poetry was sacrificed at the altar of "Darbārs". The main poets of this period are Cintāmaṇi, Bihārī Lāl, Matirām, Bhuṣaṇ, Dev, Senāpati, Padmākar and Thākur. Some of their poems contain genuine feeling and are splendid specimens of Hindi literature. The descriptive ability of Cintāmaṇi, the synthetical Dohās of Bihārī, the patriotic effusions of Bhuṣaṇ, the original poem of Dev, the natural descriptions of Senāpati, the artistic verses of Padmākar and the devotional utterances of Thākur are compositions of distinctive worth. All through this period Braj-bhāṣā had been the sole vehicle of poetry.

Several contemporaries of these poets of the Rīti-era wrote freely both narrative poems and lyrics. Such narrative poems are Mahābhārata by Sabal Singh, Vijai Muktaṭvalī by Chatra Singh, Chaitanya-Prakāś by Lāl, Candī-caritra by Gura Govind Singh, Hammīr-Rāso of Jodhrāj, Naiśadh-Caritra by Gumān Miśra, Jaimini-Purāṇ of Sarjūrām, Sujān-Caritra of Sūdan, and Hammīr-Haṭh of Candra-Sekhara. Of these Hammīr-Haṭh, Chattraprakāś, Sujān-carit and Mahābhārata of Gukul contain some good poetry,

but other poems are not of the same high standard. It seems as if they had been composed rather as a formal exercise. It may be pointed out here that the poem written by Rīti poets and their contemporaries^{not} never developed into an epic. The ground has now been sufficiently cleared to enable one to pass on to The Modern Age; this begins from 1900 A.D.

Modern Age. This is an age in which Kharibolī is the main language of literary creation. Avadhī attained its most developed form in the Ram-Carit-mānas: it then gave way to Braj-bhāṣā which remained the sole literary medium till modern times. It is due to the collective and constructive efforts of Lal^Iulāl, ^{Munshi} ~~Munshi~~ Sadā Sukh Lāl, Inshā Allāh ~~Khān~~ and Sadal Mīśra that Kharibolī came to recognition and dominance in the prose-literature. Christian missionaries took advantage of this language and adopted it as the medium for their teaching and religious literature. Marshman, Ward and William Carey established the missionary movement in Sérampore. With its extension, Kharibolī gained more stability and public respect. The first press established in 1801, helped greatly in making the language popular. In the meantime, Fort William College of Calcutta extended the usefulness of this by producing literature containing European ideas and methods. Rājā

-
- I. These four writers began their writings about the year 1803 A.D. (H.S.I. P.484) (C.1756-1817) Insha composed much of his poetry between 1790 and 1800.

Śiṛprasād and Lakṣman Singh helped in their way the progress of the language. Afterwards, Bhārtendu Bāṭū Haris-Candra (1850) moulded it in more definite and practical form and fitted it for use in poetry. Badrināth Bhaṭṭ, Pratāp Narāyan Miśra, Thākur Jag Mohan Singh, Śrīdhar Pāthak employed this language in a great variety of directions, but none attempted to write a long narrative. The first successful attempt was made by Ayodhyā Singh ṁpādhyāi "Hariaudh", who composed many other poems in Kharībolī besides his epic 'Priyapravās'. By this success he silenced those who supported Braj-bhāṣā and always maintained that Kharībolī could not be used for long narrative poems.

Social and Political Background:- Along with the advent of Kharībolī in Hindi literature the social and political phases were also changing. Lord Ripon won the co-operation of Indians with his introduction of local self-government. This was the first time that Indians had an opportunity of managing their own affairs freely. In the meantime the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in the newly established colleges and universities gave Indian students an opportunity of learning about the West. It created in them a sense of patriotism, as also a longing for freedom. They took up an attitude against the old dogmas of religions and superstitious customs. Girls, also, sought admission for higher education, and defying the old Purdāh system mixed freely in public. The establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 stimulated the enthusiasm of Indian youth. Dādābhāi Naurojī's entry into the House of Commons

and the first conviction of Lokmānya Tilak gave a fillip to their ideas as did Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. In 1900 there was a great famine. Lord Curzon tried his best for the amelioration of conditions, but this had a far-reaching effect. He partitioned Bengal in the year 1904. This aroused a strong nationalistic feeling, and in the year 1906 Dādā Bhāī Naurojī first put the objective of Swarājya before the country. In the meantime Swāmi Dayānand Saraswatī, a Gujarātī by birth, preached protestant Hinduism with a nationalistic bias under the aegis of Ārya-Samāj.

In Bengal, under Rām-kṛṣṇa Paramhāsa's influence the founders Swāmi Vivekānand expounded a Neo-Hinduism which laid emphasis on Karmayoga (the theory of Action) as the only means of saving India. Arvind^G Ghoshā, who carried on Vivekānand's tradition, preached to the young of his generation, the gospel of staunch Nationalism with its political Karmayoga.

Just before the first world War (1914-1918) Mohan^cand Karam^cand Gāndhī returned to India from South Africa and hence forward gradually became the^{sole} leading factor in Indian social and political life. With his (1) Ahimsā (non-violence), (2) carakhā (the spinning wheel) and (3) Satyāgrah (non-violent non-co-operation), he changed the whole atmosphere of Indian life and politics.

As poets belong to their own time, epic-writers were greatly influenced by the spirit of their age. Though they

adopted the old stories, they gave them a certain amount of colouring of modern Indian life as will be seen in the study later of the modern Hindi epics.

Priya-Pravās:-² As already mentioned, the first Kharībolī (Modern Hindi) epic-writer is Paṇḍit Ayodhyā Śiṅgh Ṁpādhyāi "Hariaudh", and his *Priyapravās has been made the first subject of study here.

The Poet - Paṇḍit Ayodhyā Śiṅgh Ṁpādhyāi, was born in Sītāpur in the united Provinces in the year 1865 A.D. From early years he was interested in Saṅskrit literature and worked hard at it. He wrote poems in both Braj and Kharībolī. In Braj he follows the Rīti poets and wrote Rasakalāś after their school. Later he supported the development of Kharībolī and composed in it both prose and verse, the latter including lyrics and an epic. He wrote in both simple and Saṅskritised language. Theth Hindi Kāṭhāṭh and Adhkhīṭā Phūl are examples of his simple style.

The epic "Priyapravās" was begun in October, 1909, and finished in February, 1913. Its main part tells of Kṛiṣṇa's departure from Braj to Mathurā, so its name means "Dear Migrant". The author who is still alive, is called "Kavi-Samrāt" or the Emperor of the Poets on account of ^{his} varied productions.

His Object:- Kṛiṣṇa has been the subject of immortal story in

almost all the literatures of India. In Saṅskrit Vyāsa sang of him in the Mahābhārata and Jaydev in Gīt-Govind. Vidyāpati wrote devotional songs ~~hon~~ him in Maithilī; Nāmdēv praised him in Bengali, Sūr~~Das~~ and many others composed innumerable songs with him as their theme. In the Mahābhārata Kṛṣṇa comes as a great counsellor and warrior, but his godliness conceals his ideal manhood. The other writers considered him to be the Lord and they loved to dwell on his various feats in childhood and youth, and on his companion the flute and his dances with Rādhā and the Gopīs. But no-one ever tried to make as much of his great manliness as this author, and to give poetical expression to it. He writes in the introduction to his book, "We have formed such a habit that we always desire to see mention of Almighty power, a Great Being on the earth, whom we know to be the incarnation of God. Persons who have such ideas should see my books Premāmbhu-Prasṛavan, Premāmbhu-Pravāh, Premāmbhu-Vāridhi. For such I have not composed this work. In it I have described Kṛṣṇa as a great man, not as the Supreme Being. I accept the basic theory of the incarnations of God in the words of Kṛṣṇa in the Gita.³ Therefore a great man is the very incarnation of God..... My ideas may not be correct but I have adopted this view, which will also agree with modern taste."⁴ Thus the author himself depicts his object in writing this work.

3. यत् यत् विभूतिमतं सत्त्वं श्रीमद् अर्जुनमेव वा ।
तदेव प्रवक्तव्यं त्वं प्रमत्तनाशं सम्भवम् ॥

4. See Introduction to Priyapravās by the author himself.

The Story:- As was said above, the main story of the poem is concerned with Kṛṣṇa's departure from Braj to Mathurā. The first chapter describes the joyful condition of Braj because of the geniality of Kṛṣṇa. The poet never mentions here that he is supernatural. He describes the happy conditions prevailing among the Gopīs and their relatives, and this mood prevails in nature also. The most joyful among them all were Yaśodā and Nāṇḍ, his foster parents. The hero has captivated all in the neighbourhood with his melodies on the flute and they gather to hear him.

But all their joy is dispelled as soon as they hear that Kāṁśa, the cruel Demon King, has sent for Kṛṣṇa to attend a Yagya, which he is performing. The news brings all quickly to Nāṇḍ's doors, and they crowd around Kṛṣṇa, who calmed their impatience with mild words and music. It was better, he said, to obey the King's orders than to let a calamity befall the inhabitants. The next morning their loved one left for Mathurā. The next eight chapters have been devoted to describing the piteous condition of Nāṇḍ and Yaśodā, and of Rādhā, his best beloved.

While he is in Mathurā he learns of their grieving and sends his saintly friend Udhav to comfort them. But so sincere were the love and devotion of the people of Braj that this messenger himself forgot the purpose of his mission and became engrossed in devotion to Kṛṣṇa.

The Gopīs now tell of some of the heroic deeds of their Lord and of places associated with his exploits, - here he saved

all the people from fire, here he killed a snake which was poisoning the water of the Jampurā, he ever tried to protect them. In such feats were displayed his great manliness and courage. In the end the poet expresses the hope that India will produce such sons again, who will have love for all the world, and consider that all are one and have the same origin.⁴

Language:— The language of Priyāpravās is Modern Hindi, i.e. Kharībolī. The poet is at home in both Sanskrit-mixed and simple forms. Here are various forms of words as they occur in this work: (I) Nominal forms:— (i) Nouns in Priyapravās have all the characteristics of Kharībolī. Those which require the masculine form of the adjective are masculine, those requiring the feminine are feminine. In this work this is clearer than anywhere else, for the poet has used the form of the adjective according to the form and gender of the noun.⁵ (ii) Some nouns ending in ष्ठी or णी are adjectival in their form, e.g. सुमुखि sumukhi (v.37 ch. VIII). (iii) Some nouns by themselves signify the quality of the possessor as indicated in them, e.g. रोगी-दुखी Rogī-dukhi (v.87, Ch.XII). ~~(iii)~~ (iv) There are some nouns whose second part is from a verbal root, e.g. Patāgajā (v.36, Ch.XI).

4. See the last verse in Priyapravās.

5. Verses 22-23-24.

(v) According to the general rule in Hindi most of the nouns ending in आ ā are feminine, e.g. यातना yātanā, यशुदा yaśudā (vs.47-48 ch.XI).

(vi) There are some verbal nouns formed by वाला wālā, e.g. क्रांतिवाला kṛātiwālā. (v.13 Ch.VII), and

(vii) Some nouns end in क ka, e.g. उत्पीड़क ulpīṛak (v.80 Ch.XIII)

(viii) Singular nouns ending in अ a form their plurals by replacing अ a with ओ ō, e.g. Plurals are also made by changing इ i or ई ī into, iya and adding ओ ō, e.g. जुगालियों jugaliyā (v.7 Ch.XIII). These are also made by adding ऐ ē to the singular, — e.g. उमंगें umāṅgē (v.96 ch.XIII).

Sometimes singular nouns become plurals when their meaning is plural, e.g. नयन Nayan (v.115, ch.XIII).

(ix) Very often "Harianḍh" uses compound nouns, sometimes he joins together pairs of words contrasting with each other, e.g.

लघु-बड़े laghu-bare (v.52 ch.XII). Sometimes all the nouns in a line ~~after~~⁶ verse form one compound. There are also compounds of noun and adjective, e.g. नयन-रंजन Nayan-Rājan (v.7 ch.XII); noun and adverb, e.g. उर-मध्य ur-madhyā (v.75 Ch.XII).

(x) He has used the half-accented letters in some nouns as full ones, e.g. गरब Garab, मरम Maram, धरम dharam, दरप darap, मारम Mārag etc., for गर्व Garva, मर्म marm, धर्म dharm, दर्प darp, मार्ग Mārg.

(xi) The poet has also employed words in accord with the rules of Hindi Grammar but ^{which} may be wrong according to Saṅskrit grammar.

These are मृगदृगी Mṛgdṛgī, दृगता dṛgatā. Such words are found in both prose and verse in Hindi.

(xii) He has used both forms of such nouns as, क्षण kṣhaṇ, क्षण kshan, and भाग bhāg, भाग्य bhāgya, etc.

(xiii) He has also used some Brajbhāṣa nouns, e.g. सुघरता sugharatā, विलग vilag, etc.

(II) Verbal forms:- A great variety of forms of verbs is not noticeable in Priyapravās. The poet has frequently used थी thī or है hai alone in his verses, and in many others these two come as auxiliary verbs. Intransitive verbs exceed in number the transitive. He has made changes in some verbal forms as jāyage for jayēge⁸. He further uses आवे āve for आये aye, देवे deve for दे de, दिखाने dikhavē for दिखाने dikhaye⁹.

III Adjectives:- Adjectives in Priyapravās mostly change according to the gender of the nouns which they qualify and the verses in this work abound in examples of such, e.g. मनोग्या manogyā (v.73 ch.XII), कृतग्या kritagyā (v.78 ch.XII) frequently occur. It is seldom that the poet does not change the form of the adjective e.g. नवगत navāgat (v.15 ch.XV). Kellogg divides the adjectives mainly into two forms, viz. uninflected and inflected. He writes "uninflected adjectives, as the term implies, remain unchanged

7. Introduction to Priyapravās by the author himself, p.46.

8. See Kellogg, s.398, p.231.

9. V.33, Ch.XIV, V.46 Ch.XIV, V.76 Ch.XIV. See Kellogg S.399 P.231.

before all nouns and under all circumstances....., and require no explanation. Inflected adjectives terminate in ¹⁰ ā, and correspond in all respects to "tadlihav" nouns of the same termination..... He gives सुंदर sūdar as an example of the former and shows it as unchanging with nouns of all genders. But the writer of Priyapravās does not seem to differentiate between the above two adjectives. We see that he changes the form of even सुंदर sūdar according to ¹¹ the gender of the noun.

IV. Other forms:- Sometimes "Hariaḥdh" uses very uncommon words, e.g. पला palā (fleeing) (v.51 ch.XIII), सफलित sapphalit (successful) (v.36 ch.16). He uses also common proverbs in his verses where they fit his ideas, e.g. हृदयपर सोंप लोट जाना hrḍai par sāp lot jānā (v.57 ch.VI) meaning being "utterly despondent", हृदय कुटना hrḍai kūṭana (v.65 Ch.X) in the sense of afflicting the heart. He takes proverbs also from the customs of the people, as "giving of rice and milk to the crow" (v.8 ch.VI). Indian villagers call the crows and invite them to partake of these good things, and if the crow comes and sits as they wish, they consider the return of their dear one sure.

10. See Kellogg p.134

11. Prp. v.7 ch.VIII, and v.3 ch.XIV.

Metres:- The poet has used Saṅskrit metres throughout his poems. In the introduction to Priyapravāś he writes, "As I have made a child-like attempt to write an epic, in a similar way I have made myself ridiculous by adopting the unrhyming metres for it."¹² It is merely a polite way of saying that he has ventured to write his epic in such metres. Later he says that the Saṅskrit metres as used in that literature are mostly unrhyming and so he has employed them to serve his purpose, and he gives various quotations in support of this venture.

Thus it is clear that the poet used the various Saṅskrit metres deliberately, and it is to his credit that he has succeeded to a great extent. He uses such metres as Maṇḍākrāntā, ^{śa-}ardūlvikriṣit, Drutvilāmbit, Vaṅśāsth and Mālinī, etc. In the first four chapters he has used Drutvilāmbit mostly, and in the later ones he employs Maṇḍākrāntā to a great extent but exchanges it, sometimes with the other metres. He does not seem to have a fixed intent beforehand of using any particular one. A few peculiarities in them may be noticed here. The Mālinī metre has¹³ been used at various places to describe the deep pathos. Vaṅśāsth has been used merely to introduce some later development in the story.¹⁴ Maṇḍākrāntā is written in simple language, while in Drutvilāmbit and ^{śa-}ardūlvikriṣit a more Saṅskritised terminology is found.

12. Intr. to Prp. p.3.

13. Prp. p.69, 113, 176, 250.

14. Prp. p.125.

I. General Remarks!

Literary Merit:— Much of the success of an epic-writer lies in his recognition of the essentials of his narrative and in his capacity to present them with gripping, rousing or melting power. "Hariandh" has well succeeded in selecting such salient points and effectively dealing with them. Such points are: The condition of Braj at the departure of Kṛiṣṇa; Yaśodā's distressed condition, Rādhā's lamentations and her sending messages on the wings of the wind; Kṛiṣṇā's pensive mood on hearing of her condition; the dejected words of the Gopīs to Udhav, and his captivation by that same love which he had desired to dispel from their thoughts.

The scene in Braj at the departure of Kṛiṣṇa is described as if the author had been himself an eye-witness, or rather one of the sufferers. Some of the people were so upset that they could not shed tears, ¹⁵ others wept constantly, others appeared to have lost their senses, and a few requested the messenger to leave ¹⁶ them this favourite of all. One of the last group was an old man who hastened towards the messenger, and with tears pouring down into his hands made his entreaty to him while he was himself ¹⁷ moved to tears.

That day the herd of cows which Kṛiṣṇa always led to forest pastures, did not go for grazing and remained still in

15. V.21, ch.V

16. Prp. verses 24 to 28, ch.V.

17. Prp. v.29 ch.V.

their place awaiting his return. They even stoped eating and
¹⁸
 followed the path which he had taken. Even the parrot at Yaśoda's
^{19.}
 doors shrieked its appeal to him.

The most famous and frequently quoted passages in
Priyapravās are those which describe the piteous cries of Yaśodā,
 These are in such simple language that almost all the Hindi poetry
 books prescribed for Indian schools and colleges contain them.
 Addressing her husband she says, "Dear husband, where is my dear
 one whom I always caressed in my arms, forgetting all the worries
 of the world, whose sweet voice infused life into lifeless
 bodies..... whose heart was always troubled at the miseries
 of others?" uttering such words Yaśoda came near to being
²⁰
 overwhelmed with grief.

Other scenes too have been described graphically and later
 in this chapter there will appear the poet's vision and power of
 description.

18. Prp. vs. 37 to 39, ch.V.

19. काकावृष्णा महर्-गृहेके, दारका भी दुःखी था।
 भूला जाता सकल स्वर था, इमना हो रहा था।

(Prp.v.40, ch.V)

20. Prp. vs. 11 to 55, ch.VII

(a) His Idea of Poetry:- The author seems to favour the view that Rasa is the essence of poetry. He is against poems which are mere creations of the mind. He writes, "Easily recitable poems which are also pleasing to the ears but comprehensible only after the mind's labour, are certainly disturbing. Their beauteous form and lucidity become obscurity, harshness and incomprehensible if they are unintelligible to the mind, even after its attempts to understand them."^{21.}

Here it is clear that he is against those who believe Alākārās or Rīti (exterior form) to be the soul of poetry. It was explained in the course of criticism of Keśav how the various schools gave their own definitions of poesy.²² "Hariandh" in his above statement does not commit himself to the view that Alākārās or Rīti are not needed in it, but means that these are not poems in themselves. He is clearly against the supporters of the Vakrokti school, in whose opinion the "crooked" way of expression merely is true poetry. At any rate, he seems to favour the idea of Mammaṭācārya, who lays it down that poems should contain Alākārās and other embellishments, but these should come to aid in development of Rasa, which is the soul of poetry.

(b) The Idea of Love:- Love has become secondary in the theme of Priyaprāvās. Love is there, and has been given scope to develop, but it does so as the poet wishes, not in its natural way.

21. Intr. to Prp. by the author, p.21

22. Supra . p.179

Rādhā is sad on hearing the news of Kṛiṣṇā's departure. She is grieved and weeps bitterly over the dark prospects of the future. She blames fate, and regrets that her marriage with Kṛiṣṇa is becoming impossible. Nature looks to her to share this sorrowful mood. Thus the young love of her heart has lost freshness. It has lost hope, and the idea of sacrifice is not yet combined with the idea of Love.²³

Later Rādhā sends messages through the wind to Kṛiṣṇa and she requests it to bring at least the dust of her beloved's feet. She entreats it repeatedly to tell him how she is grieved and pining away at his separation. This romantic phase has been copied from the description of the same^{in KĀLIDĀS,} Love is clearly portrayed in Kālī Dās, "True love, no time nor distance can destroy, And, independent of all present joy. It grows in absence, as renewed delight, Some dear memorials, some loved lines excite. (P.91, Megh, by Wilson.)

^{contrast to} In The Cloud-Messenger of Kālīdās where a similar picture occurs, Love still looks to the welfare of the lover and has not reached the stage where the latter loses the sense of self-interest and becomes majnūn (frenzied).²⁴

A more developed love appears later when Rādhā expresses and expounds her wishes and theories of love, fate and devotion. The lover says, "Though I am ever self-less and well-disciplined,

23. Prp. Ch.IV

24. Prp. Ch.VIII

yet I am much troubled at remembrance of Kṛiṣṇa. Even to-day I do not long for the world's well-being so much as I long to obtain him." ²⁵ Love is so great that it overpowers the self control. It looks somewhat strange that one who is so engrossed in love can explain so soberly the gāstric theory of love and devotion. The descriptions have here become un-natural. Love next develops into a healthy form; distressed Rādhā's personal love becomes universal, and she now sets herself to give solace to others, and takes the leading role in Braj in ministering to ²⁶ and supplying the destitute and condoling with the oppressed.

Thus love in Priyapravās has served the poet's purpose well, through its means he supplies a satisfactory description of Rādhā, and expounds his own lofty ideas.

(c) His Idea of Fate:- "Hariānadh" follows his forefathers in this respect. He is a staunch believer in fate and in Priyapravās he repeatedly mentions it. Rādhā, the most beloved Gopī of Kṛiṣṇa, is sad at the latter's departure from Braj and says, "What is written in fate can never be effaced." (Prp.v.35, ch.IV.)

25. निर्लिप्ता ओ यदपि प्रति हो - संयता नित्य मे हूँ।
 हो भी होती प्रति व्यथित हूँ, श्यामकी याद-प्रति।
 वैसे लोहा जगत-हितकी, आज भी है न होती।
 जैसी जीभें ललित प्रियके लालनकी लालसा है॥

26. Prp. Ch.XVII

He also gives its expression through the lips of Kṛṣṇa while the latter was sitting morosely thinking of his loved Braj. His friend Udhav came in and enquired the cause of this mood. Kṛṣṇa unbosoms himself and adds, "Man imagines he understands, and thinks freely and always accomplishes his tasks according to his own wishes. (But) learned ones say that he is in the hands of time and fate, and that his freedom involved in the chain of events becomes mechanical."²⁷ All the characters look towards God for help in time of trouble, and even Kṛṣṇa talks in such terms as if everything is done at the command of the Almighty, e.g. in his message to Rādhā where he says, "Why has the Creator thus separated us?"²⁸

(d) Views on Non-Violence:- The poet gives his opinion on violence and non-violence; he writes, "Not even an ant is to be killed if it is harmless. The destruction of a tyrant is not a sin but a most sacred duty."²⁹ Here he differs from the Buddhistic and the Gandhian philosophy of Ahimsā which ever hates the sin but not the sinner. Buddhists believe in the reform of even the most wretched, and it was for this reason that Gaṇtama walked solitary through the forest where the famous robber Angulimāl lived. And Angulimāl was reformed.

27. Prp. v.7 ch.IX

28. Prp. vs.37-38 ch.XVI

29. मनुष्य क्या एक पिपीलिकाइसी। न बध्य है जो न प्रज्जेय हेतु हो।
न पाप है किंच प्रपार पुण्य है। पिशाच कहीं नरेका निपातना॥

"Hariadh" seems to follow the dictates of the Gītā, and the version of the famous commentator Tilak, Kṛiṣṇa says in the Gītā that he was born to protect well-doers and destroy evil ones.³⁰ Tilak held this same view, and it may be recalled here that it was in the period of Tilak that Priyapravās was composed.

The poet has also described devotion (Bhakti),³¹ and dealt with its nine sorts as detailed in Sanskrit literature and by Tulsi and Keśav Dās.

(e) Power of Description:- The poet has well described the things that he wanted to put before his reader. Though he lacked the outstanding artistic qualities of the master-poets, yet his factual descriptions depict the scenes graphically. We may illustrate this by a few examples from Priyapravās.

Rādhā, best beloved of the Gopīs, always longed to see Kṛiṣṇa. The poet has depicted her condition with telling effect. She passed her days worried and tearful. Once while she was weeping in her room the breeze came and fanned the depressed cheek of the unhappy girl. She entreated it to go and tell Kṛiṣṇa of her sorrowful condition. "If you cannot accomplish that, go and show him how to weep and be distraught, or bring some precious token from him. Alas, I am near unto death, save my life."³² She then mentions the different places through which it may pass. This passage shows clearly the poet's powers of description. Here he seems to have written on the lines of the Māghdūta of Kālīḍ Dās

30 Suprap. 141.

31. Prp. vs.123-127, ch.XVI

32 Prp. v.34 ch.VI

where the Yaksha says similar things to the clouds. But Kālī Dās was a master draughtsman. He describes historical places and rivers on the way to the Yaksha's beloved, such as Avānti, Vidiśa, Vetrāvalī, but "Hariādh" describes ³³imaginary ones.

Kālī Dās's poems are well adorned with similes and metaphors; his descriptions come in a natural way, but "Hariādh" seems to force ³⁴them. Kālī Dās at places depicts general facts and these influence the manner of his expression. Such imaginary accounts are found in Bengali literature, too. Haṁsadūta and Udhav-Saṁdeś contain similar pictures, but are nearer to Braj Meghdūta than to Priyapravās. Priyapravās contains several such long passages. One more may be quoted from the narration of the Gopīs. A Gopī requests Udhav to bring back Kṛiṣṇa from Mathurā, and then depicts elaborately the conditions of Braj as it was when Kṛiṣṇa was present. This was the sacred season and the sky was clear. All the directions were crystal-like and Nature seemed delighted. Further, the blossoms, the clear waters of the slow-flowing rivers the earth free from mud, the murmuring streams among the cliffs, various ponds and pools crowded with birds, and the sweet music were all charming. The moonlit night was casting lustre on all the trees and the creepers, too, were brightened by it. Stars were adorning the sky and the night was most attractive. ~~The~~

33. Prp. p.63-64 Ch.VI.

34. "Life like a wheel's revolving orb turns round, Now whirled in air, now dragged along the ground."
Megh, by Wilson, p.90.

The breeze was blowing and spreading the sweet fragrance it carried along with it. The forest-land was clear and delightful to behold, and it was here and at such a time that once Kṛiṣṇa played on his flute.

Thus such scenes show the poet's capacity to draw them.

Treatment of Nature:- "Hariaṇḍh" was not a close or keen observer of Nature; his descriptions of it are factual and external, though his native talent gave beautiful form to such aspects of it as he painted. This is why sometimes Nature with him is boisterous, sometimes beautiful and at others sympathetic. He is a poet and a true one, and describes Nature with sentiments which find the lifeless and living the same.

He begins his narrative with a description in several verses of evening. "The close of the day was near; over^{head} the sky had a reddish sheen, the rays of the sun now lay on the top-most leaves of the trees. In the forests the noise of the birds grew louder and various groups of them flew away through the sky. The sky took on a redder glow till the greenness of the trees became submerged in it." ³⁵ This is an example of his painting of a calm landscape. Here is one of Nature in a boisterous, violent mood: "Once again a stormy wind arose suddenly and full of dust. Every direction quivered at its terrific noise; stones rained down, and darkness spread; the earth was covered with stones and leaves, and the thunder of clouds dominated the sky. Trees were uprooted, and branches were flung down, housetops were

destroyed, the roofs scattered, and well-built houses trembled....³⁶

"Hariandh's" Nature is also sympathetic. It fits in with the general sorrow of the people of Braj at leave-taking, "Seeing the sorrow of the Lady of Braj³⁷, the night also wept, and under cover of the dew was shedding innumerable tears. The surface of Braj was weeping silently in great grief, shedding her many tears which took shape in the flow of the Jamunā." Cows and parrots were likewise distressed at his departure, for in order to make more realistic the sentiments of a particular character poets colour Nature to tone in with their mood. Some on the other hand, are mystics and are not much or long dependent on the visual relation of men and things.

"Hariandh's" work is not remarkable for its treatment of Nature. He describes ~~her~~^{it} as far as it can be utilised to help his statement or characterisation. So his descriptions of ~~her~~^{it} are ^{factual} natural. Herein he differs from some other Hindi poets. Maithilī Saran Gupta has followed the same path, except at certain places in Sāketa where he was influenced by the symbolic school of poetry. Śridhar Pāṭhak, a contemporary lyric poet, had a keen and more vivid view of Nature. He saw Nature full of hope.³⁸ "Prasad's" description of Nature is more thoughtful and philosophical, and sometimes

36. Prp. verses 36 to 40. Ch.II

37. बिपुल नीर बहा कर नेवसे। मिस कलिन्द-कुमारि-प्रवाहके।
परम कातरता संग मौन हो। रुदन सी करती व्रजकी धरा॥
(V.४४ Ch.III).

38. See "Sandhya-Aṭan" by Śridhar Pāṭhak.

mysterious. Sumitrā Nāḍan "Paṇṭ", another lyric writer, has taken his own stand and sees immortal beauty in Nature; he loves it. Mahādevī, a contemporary, successfully veils her sorrow in the mystery of Nature. So there is no one in quite the same category as "Hariāḥdh" who limns Nature as he sees it, without dogmas or prejudice.

The poet often pauses to observe smaller objects and give significance to them. He seems to show that he is master of every subject and can produce verses to unfold it, and he is successful in this. As Udhav proceeds from Mathurā to Braj, the poet would like to depict every mountain, pond, and tree on the way. To the messenger's eyes all appears desolate due to separation from Kṛiṣṇa. He describes as Udhav's eyes beheld them, the district of Braj, its hills, springs and trees. He gives a good list of trees, forgetting, however, that some of them are not found in Braj, e.g. sāgaun and ³⁹darim. In enumerating them the poet follows the tradition laid down by some of the Saṅskrit and Hindi poets. This taste for enumerating trees and plants is common in oriental literature; some poets have overloaded their lines with names of fruits, trees and places they have never seen, or could possibly see. In the odes of Confucius, there have been counted about seventy kinds of plants, thirty kinds of trees and a like number of birds. In the Rūsāghar of Kālīdās there occur

such long descriptions, but they have been confined to trees found on the actual sites. With the growth of knowledge of things in other lands the ambition grew in poets to include in their writings references to lands and things they had never seen.

In the criticism of Keśav it was seen how he had been influenced by such Saṅskrit works as Kādambarī and had included in his descriptions things that are not found on the actual site, and enumerated a number of their sort. "Haria^udh" has done the same. ⁴⁰

Characterisation:- The poet has not given complete form to any one of his characters. His main characters are Yaśodā, Rādhā, Nānda, Udhav and Kṛiṣṇa.

For him Yaśodā is a mother pained by separation from her son. At some places, and particularly in ch.VII, he has given very natural expression to maternal affection. ⁴¹

In Rādhā there is a tinge of modernism. She is not the Rādhā of Bhāgavat, Sūrsāgar and the Bhramargit of Sūr Dās and Nānd Dās, but a girl co-operating in promoting national welfare. By the time of Priyapravās national feelings had been widely awakened in India. Women and girls were taking part in various movements, and had much pride in working for social uplift. So Rādhā, despite her personal disappointment and pain, administered to the needs of the people. She takes in her lap Yaśodā, despairing and sometimes in frenzied mood. The latter asks whether Kṛiṣṇa will not return? Rādhā in tender tones assures her he will. As she speaks the tears keep falling from her eyes. When any drop on the cheeks of Yaśodā, the latter bids her not to grieve. Rādhā always

Rādhā always responds that her tears are not of sorrow but of joy,
⁴²
 and stirred by services to her. So too she served all, including
 the old and the sick. Under her influence young unmarried girls
 joined in helping her. Herein the poet has given a sketch of
⁴³
 woman's part in social service. A more detailed picture has been
 drawn by J.S. Prasād in his drama Candragupta. In Priyapravās
 Rādhā does only social work, but in Candragupta Alakā calls upon
 every one to stand under the national flag and fight the "Greek"
 invaders.

Naṇd is mentioned as having gone with Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā
 and soon after returned, but no pains have been taken to acquaint
 the reader with much more. He goes with Kṛṣṇa and returns alone
 and deeply sorrowing.

Udhav, who had come on behalf of his lord to console the
 residents of Braj, is not made a convincing figure. The situation
 there may have been more than a match for him, but his general
 conduct was hardly in consonance with the dignity of his position.

Though Kṛṣṇa is the foremost figure and the best, yet
 only his childhood has been painted in detail. He was a charming
 baby, a playful child and a courageous boy. He became a master
~~flaut~~ist. He saved the inhabitants of Braj in their distresses.
 But love scenes have not been given. Kṛṣṇa's great love towards

42. Prp. vs. 39-40 ch.XVII

43. जो धीं कौमार-व्रत निरता बालिकायें प्रेनेकीं।
 वे भी जोके समय व्रजमें आतीं विस्तारतीयीं।
 श्री राधाके हृदय-बलसे। दिव्य शिक्षा-श्रुतिसे।
 वे भी क्षया-सदृश उनकी वस्तुतः हो गई थीं॥
 (V. 51 ch. XVII).

Rādhā has been indicated by the message which he sent to her. He performs great feats; he saves Braj from a flood and Nānd from drowning; he kills the formidable serpent of ⁴⁴Śamīnā, and he rescues the cattle from the fire in the forest. These are some of his many exploits narrated. He left Mathurā for Dwārikā due to disturbances caused by Jarāsaṁdh, but the poet goes no further. And so the hero as the slayer of Jarāsaṁdh, and the "Guru" and helper of the ⁴⁵Rāṇḍavās does not come before us. It is the Kṛiṣṇa of the Bhāgavat who has been given a few modern touches, but not that of the Mahābhārata.

IV. Figures of Speech:- The poet was no adept at Alākārās. His poem is lacking in the embellishments of poetic art; there does not appear to be any metaphor at all. Here and there occur similes but they lack the aptness and acuteness of Tulsi's. For example, "Hariāṁdh" writes, "The daughter of Vṛṣbhānu (i.e. Rādhā) on hearing the news of Kṛiṣṇa's departure became embarrassed like a blooming bud just hit by the frost." ⁴⁵ The same idea was expressed by Tulsi but more concisely, "Ram saw his mother troubled like the Subeṭi creepers hit by the frost." ⁴⁶ "Hariāṁdh" has used seventeen words and repeated one, "embarrassed" in the verse, whereas Tulsi expresses his idea in eight words only and without repetition. But though "Hariāṁdh's" similes may not be concise or always apt, they serve their purpose well. Such similes are used in chap.VIII.

45. Prp. v.20, ch.IV

44- Prt. vs. 37 to 46 ch. VIII

46. देखी राम दुखित महगरी।
अनु सुबेली अलली हिमगरी॥
(Amrod. 4th D. 238),

He has described Kṛiṣṇa as a child, but he lacks the imagination and devotion of the blind Sūr Dās, whose accomplishment in this surpasses that of all the poets of Hindi. "Hariandh" and the Sūr Dās both described Kṛiṣṇa as a child, playing in the court-yard of Yaśodā. The former says, "When the child (Kṛiṣṇa) in delighted mood, loudly laughing and looking towards his mother, crept along the court-yard on his knees, he gave immense pleasure (to all)."⁴⁷ Sūr Dās expresses the same, "Kṛiṣṇa, in delighted mood, comes along the court-yard of Nāṇḍ, which is decorated with jewels. Seeing his image in the jewels, he sometimes runs to grasp it, at other times on seeing his shadow he wishes to hold it. And when in great joy he laughs, his two little teeth look very beautiful."⁴⁸ He still tries to catch the shadow." Thus in imaginative and descriptive power "Hariandh" lacks the talent of his great predecessors.

At some places alliterations occur in the course of description, and add a certain brightness to the verses.⁴⁹ At a few places there is to be seen the repetition of words, and this⁵⁰ is equally acceptable where it occurs.

Thus "Hariandh" has not tried to specialise in Alākārāś, indeed he has not specialised in anything. He tries to keep up to one level standard in different departments of literature, and this is the reason why he has written something in all departments

47. Prp. v.39 ch.VIII

48. Sur. v.110 ch.X

49. Prp. vs.87-90, ch.IX

50. Prp. v.10, ch.XV

without excelling in any. Supernatural elements have no place in Priyapravās and the deeds are done through human agencies.

As an Epic:- This author has not repeated the whole story of his hero or of his characters. His material is rather meagre, though suitably arranged to justify the title "Priyapravās" (departure of the dear one). He has described some of the heroic deeds of his hero, but these centre round his childhood. He has taken his narrative from Bhāgarvat, and in spite of his wishes, to describe Kṛiṣṇa "as a great human being" he has been led to give more attention to the touching plight of Yaśodā, Rādhā and the people of Braj. From beginning to end the chapters are full of such accounts. Before proceeding to show how far these contrasting pictures have marred the continuity of the epic, a short survey of the details in "Priyapravās" is appropriate here.

Chapter I is merely introduction and shows every one delighted at Kṛiṣṇa's skill on his flute. In Chapter II Akrūr comes to take him away to Mathurā. Here is the first trace of any heroic element. The people talk about the wonder-child and tell of his killing the cruel Pūtanā, a Rākshasī. In Chapter III all are grieving at his departure, and Yaśodā weeps bitterly. In the next chapter Rādhā in her home, tells her friend Lalitā of her premonition of unhappiness at her abandonment. In Chapter V the morning of the day of his leave-taking breaks, and in the sixth night falls; fears have been realised, and Yaśodā and Rādhā sorrow with the rest. Rādhā asks the wind to carry her message to him. In the next, Nand returns from escorting his foster-son

to Mathurā. Here mention is briefly made of Kaṁśa, (on whose account Kṛṣṇa had to come on the earth). Yaśodā says that he and other enemies have gone now. Chapter VIII describes the general despondency in Braj, and reminiscences of the birth of Kṛṣṇa and of his childhood are given in an Abhir's words. The next chapter opens with Kṛṣṇa in thoughtful mood in Mathurā, and tells of his request to his friend Udhav to go to Braj and of Udhav's consenting. In the Xth are recorded the pathetic words of Naṇḍ and Yaśodā and at the close Naṇḍ relates how Kṛṣṇa saved him from drowning and from a terrific serpent. In the XIth Kṛṣṇa's adventure in killing Kālīnāg, the frightful serpent of the river Jamuṇā, is narrated in the words of an aged Gopī. In the next chapter Abhirs tell Udhav how Braj came near to being flooded by heavy rains, and how Kṛṣṇa saved all the people by taking them into a mountain, and himself tended the sick. In the XIIth, Kṛṣṇa is represented as a person keen in the quest of universal knowledge. He is said to have killed a terrible horse and a tyrant "Paśupāl", Vyom. His behaviour endeared him to every one. In the next chapter the mournful condition of the Gopīs of Braj is again described. In the XVth there is an account of the piteous state of a girl who talks to the flowers and takes up dust in her head. The next chapter tells about Udhav's coming to see Rādhā, who sits in a bower; this contains an exposition of Rādhā's devotion. The last chapter ends with the return of Udhav to Mathurā after six months though he had come to Braj only for two days. Kṛṣṇa leaves Mathurā for Dwārikā and the people of Braj are left still more disconsolate, but Rādhā brings comfort and solace to everyone.

From the above survey three grounds of criticism suggest themselves: (1) The poet wishes to show the greatness of his hero, but the full measure of his perfection has not been given.

(2) Lamentations and petitions are more obvious than the exploits and adventures, and rather obscure the main 'flavour' of the poem.

(3) The narrative is not in continuous form. A new scene is suddenly staged as in a drama and the characters unfold their tales without pre-arrangement.

As for the first ground it is clear that the poet could not go much beyond the story of Bhāgarvat in which Kṛṣṇa's childhood is vividly depicted. He sketches in much the same things but some of the features are different. His greatness does not stand out compelling recognition. Accounts given by one or other of the characters do not appear so much to magnify him as to reflect the sorrowing of Braj. The poet has never independently described the great actions of Kṛṣṇa, nor even mentioned his great part in battle as given in the Mahābhārata. Vyās sang intimately of his greatness but the foremost idea with him was of his divine nature. So there too, Kṛṣṇa has not been represented as a great human being. The writer of Priyapravās, under the influence of the nationalist movement, especially as led by Tilak, tried to embody his hero in a human form, but could not long escape the thrall of tradition.

To present him as such there was required a picture of his whole life with colouring of his deeds and adventures, a picture such as Dwārikā Prasād Miśra has given in his work Kṛṣṇāyan.

As for the second point it has been noted in the above

survey that most of the chapters are filled with the lamentations of the residents of Braj. Even the heroic actions of Kṛṣṇa are related as a background to these. Thus the heroic element is secondary to that of pathos which is maintained till the end, for in the last chapter the people are again sorely disappointed and Rādhā, most dismayed of all, turns to administer to their needs. This idea of service has come from the then national movement stirring throughout India, but especially in Bengal.

As for the third point it is clear that one cannot tell at the close of a chapter where the thread of the story will next be picked up. This is particularly evident after Chapter IX, where Udhav has been requested to leave Mathurā for Braj. In the Xth there are the sorrowful conversations between Nāṇd, Yaśodā and Udhav. In the next the day begins with the meeting of Udhav with Gopīs on the banks of the river Jamnā. In all the following chapters Udhav meets in this casual manner with Gops or Gopīs, and they speak to him of Kṛṣṇa. The accounts of these meetings and conversations are natural and true to Indian village life, for villagers converse freely with a stranger they find among them, and when the people of Braj met with Udhav, Kṛṣṇa's friend, it is natural that their talk should centre on their common interest. But there is one unusual feature in it, that whereas ordinarily the villagers gather round a stranger and some of them remain in his company to which their habit of chatting first found them admission, in Priyapravāsa the stranger always goes alone and only casually meets with the Gops or Gopīs.

Another unusual feature occurs when Udhav goes to meet Rādhā. He goes straight into the garden of her father's house, and finds her in a secluded bower where she is sitting. It must be remembered that Rādhā was the daughter of Vṛṣbhāṇa, a princely noble living in that neighbourhood. As elsewhere, the garden attached to a nobleman's home is private and protected from intrusion, it is odd that so saintly and wise a person as Udhav should have entered there unannounced. The poet has not observed the rights of privacy and private property, and has left his reader to think of one of the best of his characters as indifferent to usage and custom. In his defence, it may be said that under the strain of the distracted condition of the Braj people he had for the time lost his sense of propriety. But this is not the case, for the poet says in the beginning that Udhav went to console Rādhā⁵¹, and so at that time⁵¹ was as calm and collected as before and should have observed the formalities. A modern writer of an epic has need to observe strict etiquette; his characters ought not to drift like visionary figures.

Here can be discussed as part of the same problem the question why "Hariāṇdh"^u departed from the traditional treatment of his hero? The first reply is that times had changed. The authority of tradition was becoming less certain of acceptance. Action, adventure, and realism were now more in tune with the spirit of the age than an ideology that neither charmed nor chastened. A new spirit was beginning to stir and probe for expression in politics, nationalism, and social amelioration. This first reply is from the

side of history, the record of human activities. The other is from the artistic. The screen with one commanding figure was being withdrawn into the background. The stage was being occupied by figures, in busy motion, and with emotions likewise moving to a quicker tempo. New feelings were calling for new expression, and for new verse-forms. Bengali drama was experimenting with figures both mythological and historical and exploiting them for leadership. "Hariandh's Kṛṣṇa is the form or gauge of his reaction to the times. I.N. Madan has rightly stated the position, "He is no longer a God, working miracles, but a man who joys or weeps like mortals".^{52.}

Thus it is seen that the poet has not succeeded in turning to his purpose in masterly fashion the complete story, nor even the part of it which he did take up, but his descriptions can be estimated to have reached an average standard, and his power of imagination is often impressive. The heroic element enters somewhat casually and at any place. It now remains to decide how far the work satisfies the canons of the epic.

It is advisable to repeat them here in brief, and to bear in mind that the author has followed the Saṅskritic style though after his own fashion.

Kavirāj Viśwanāth and Daṇḍin concur in their definition of an epic and this may be summarised in three principles:-

- (1) There should be several cantos;
- (2) the hero should be noble and of noble family;
- (3) there should be suitable descriptions of various subjects from life and Nature.

Hemchandra ~~He~~arya gives a similar definition and stresses the point that the epic should observe "all the unities, with the splendour of beauteous and fine expression of feeling." There cannot be any doubt that the three conditions have been satisfied in Priyapravās, and it only remains to note to what extent. His poems contain seventeen chapters, and in it he has dealt with the story of ^{Kṛiṣṇa}~~Ram~~, a descendant of the famous ^{caṇḍravaiṇāṣī}~~family~~, ~~Raghū~~. It is true that he does not deal with the full story of his hero, but it cannot be inferred from any of the above definitions that the epic should relate the complete story. As for the unities to be observed, it has been shown how the various descriptions mar the continuity of the poetry. But it should be remembered that this writer is not a master-hand who forces the materials "to obey a single presiding unity of artistic purpose." It has already been seen in the three-point criticism of Priyapravās that this single presiding unity is defective.

The author has neglected some of the traditional details of epic writing. He has not observed the formalities of the beginning and the end. These require that the work should begin with "prayers to the deity or other gods, a eulogy of the good..." and end in a similar fashion. "Hari⁵³adḥ" opens his work with an evening scene in Braj. He has ended his narrative by putting an ideal before the world, that of the love and service. The writers of Rāso, Paḍmāvat, Rāmcariṭmaṇas, and Rāmcandrikā

all followed the old tradition. "Hariānḍh" was the first to depart from it. To break with rigid custom requires no little courage and it is rather remarkable that the innovation in Hindi was made by one so grounded in Sanskrit love and system.

His language corresponds to his ideas. It answers to moods within, and to Nature's manifestations of freshness and renewal in rain and crops and abundance in plants and trees. "Hariānḍh" does not lack imagination. He gives a psychological portrait of Yasōdā as a mother. His Rādhā realised ideal love and proves to be a selfless servant. His Kṛṣṇa plays less on the flute and dances only once or twice, but with his many actions wins and retains the hearts of the common people of Braj. The poet prepares them and all besides for the message of Priyapravās, "Oh Creator, produce again on the soil of India a son such as Kṛṣṇa, who was a true lover of humanity, and one such as Rādhā who loved all with her benevolent heart."

It has been stated in the criticism⁵⁴ of Priyapravās that it is "a long poem between the epic and the romance". The first part of this criticism is correct for it is a long poem. But the second part is scarcely apt; instead of "the romance" the long narrative poem would be truer to fact. Priyapravās is an epic. Its language, power of imagination and portrayal of heroic character proclaim it as such, though it lacks the variety in description of Prithirāj Rāso, Jāyasi's depth of feeling and the extensive knowledge of Tulsī Dās, greatest of the Hindi poets.

SĀKETA

INTRODUCTION.

Contemporaneous with 'Harilaudh' there was a group of writers and poets who progressed under the guiding hand of Mahabīr Prasād Dwivedī, a veteran Hindi writer and editor. It is due to the efforts of Dwivedī that modern Hindi possesses a grammatically correct shape. His disciples also contributed much towards smoothing out unevennesses in the language and making it popular. It has successfully been used in all branches of literature, in stories, novels, dramas, lyrics and short and long narrative poems. The best known disciple of Dwivedī is Maithilī Śaraṇ Gupta, who has added much to the popularity of the language through his poems. First came his Bhārat-Bhāratī (composed in 1913) with its simple and flowing style. Due to their simplicity these poems are on every tongue in the Hindi speaking world. His genius can be seen more clearly in his epic-narrative Sāketa, which appeared in 1931.

As already mentioned M. S. Gupta developed his poetic talent under the guidance of Dwivedī. The latter was a keen supporter of realistic literature, and his followers likewise remained aloof from the sphere of emotionalism and symbolism. Simultaneously however some young writers were engaged on

compositions depending on the emotional expression and symbolic language. At this time European literature too was affected by phantasmata or visionary influences. Mysticism in some cases there became clad in symbolism. To describe a certain thing the writer dealt with another and so outlined it that it indicated the former without specifying it; he sought for what is now called the "objective correlative." These descriptions were based on figurative language.

This Western ideology was first incorporated in the philosophy of Brahmo-Samāj, of which Devendranāth Thakur, father of the famous poet Ravindranāth, was the founder. This philosophy was more fully expounded by Dr. Ravindranāth in his poems and these have influenced recent Hindi writers, as this literature was based on love, and provided a good opportunity to young men to compose lyrics which sounded sweet, but whose merit lay in their incomprehensibility. Though M. S. Gupta belonged to the realistic school, he could not stand opposed to this reaction from it, and himself wrote some lyrics. These occupy an important position in Sāketa.

The Poet:- Mathilī Śaraṇ Gupta was born in Cirgānv Jhānsī, in the United Provinces, in the year 1886 A.D. His father was a business-man, but this son showed a keen interest in Hindi poetry since early childhood. He was much encouraged by Dwivedī, editor of the Hindi Saraswatī of Allahabad, and his first poems were published in that magazine. Soon appeared his Bhārat-Bhāratī, which was received with great appreciation in the Hindi-reading world. He has written about a dozen poetical works in Hindi. The most famous of these are Bhārat-Bhāratī, Pañcvatī, Gaydrath-Bādh, Yasodharā, Nakul and Sāketa. He is still alive and leads a retired life at his place in Jhānsī.

Gupta was born to a *Vaishnav* or Hindu family and his father was a worshipper of Rām. So an inclination towards Rām was present in him (1) from very childhood. In Sāketa it will be seen how the poet looks towards Rām with all the intenseness of a devotee.

(1) The poet heard from his father about Rām:

“हम चाकर रघुबीर के, पटौ लिखौ दरबार;
अब तुलसी का होइंगे नर के मनसबदार;
वहाँ कल्पना भी सफल जहाँ हमारे राम।

His Object:- In Sāketa he has taken Rām as the incarnation of the Almighty, (2) and considering the work as a whole Rām is the hero. But the writer's main object seems to be to show the latent greatness of Urmilā, her love and sacrifice. Till his time poets had dealt insufficiently with her, confining mention of her to her marriage with Lakshman, and had not revealed her ideal love, self-control and other qualities. M. S. Gupta marked it and painted her with exceeding sympathy and successfully. Here Urmilā with her lofty ideals approaches the greatness of Sītā, indeed, if Hindu sentiment is not allowed to sway one's judgment, she is shown to possess a stronger personality than the latter. Sītā says of Urmilā, "She well illustrates those actions here which even I could not accomplish." (3) She fills the role of an ideal lover. Modernists may find fault with Lakshman for not taking her with him, and may even regard her as a featureless character,

(2) हो गया निर्गुण सगुण साकार है,
ले लिया अविलेशने अवतार है।
(Sā. 1.2).

(3) सिद्ध करेगी वही यहाँ,
जो मैं भी कर सकी कहाँ ?
(Sā. 1.10).

but if a picture of the highest ideal of Hindu domestic life is desired, it can be seen in this family. ~~Julsi~~ ^{Julsi} ~~but~~ praised its other members but not her; (4) the view may be taken that her greatness was implied in that of Sītā (5). But it is Sāketa which has brought her forward into a prominent position.

The Story:- The author has named his book Sāketa, another name of Ayodhyā, and has centred his whole narrative in it, with the exception of the assembly at Citrakūt. He commences with a description of the city of Ayodhyā or Sāketa. He introduces Urmilā standing in the grand palace of King Dasarath, with charming mien and beautiful hair. Lakshman enters and she shows him a painting of Rām's coronation, a day before it is due to be celebrated. In Chapter II the scene turns to the rooms of Kaikeie, who is provoked by Mantharā to take steps to prevent the coronation of Rām. The good heart of Kaikeie is gradually poisoned by Mantharā's malicious suggestions. She asks two boons from King Dasarath, and these are granted. In the next two chapters Rām, Lakshman and Sītā prepare to set out for the forest and ask leave of their respective mothers. Urmilā consents willingly to Lakshman's

(4) Rem. Bāl. ch.

(5) infra p. 239.

wishes that she should stay behind, and the others take their leave. In Chapter V. the happiness of the forest-people at Rām's stay there is apparent. The next chapter gives an idea of Urmilā's nobility of mind. Kauśilyā condoles with her husband, Dasarath, who reproaches himself bitterly and dies of his remorse.

Then Bharat and Śatrughna return to Ayodhyā, and are grieved at what has happened. Dasarath's body is cremated. Chapter VIII gives a picture of Sītā's contentment in the forest. Bharat goes to Chitrakūt, where there is a large assembly, to induce Rām to return home. Jābālī, a nihilist saint, tries unsuccessfully to persuade Rām to take up the sovereignty. The next two chapters present a pathetic but fine portrait of Urmilā. In her words there is given an account of the Swayambar at Mithilā, and the marriage of the four sons of Dasarath. Chapter XI tells of Bharat's penances, and the condition of Māṇḍavi, his wife. Here Śatrughna relates on the authority of travellers he had met, the story of Rām after he left Chitrakūt, and the account ends with the death of Khar, Dūṣaṇ and Jaiśirā. In the meantime Hanumān, who was passing through Ayodhyā on his way to fetch herbs to save Lakshman's life, is suspected of being a demon. He falls at a shot of Bharat and there relates Rām's story from the time of his adventures in Pañcvaṭī up to the time of Lakshman's swooning. He obtains the required herbs from

Bharat and flies back. The last chapter, No. XII, gives a vivid account of the distressed condition of Ayodhyā at Hanumān's story. Bharat and others prepare for *Lankā*. In the meantime Vasiṣṭha enters and through his supernatural power shows everyone the scene of *Lankā*. Lakshman is now up and about, and kills Meghnād. Rāvan too is killed and Rām recovers Sītā.

Then the exiles return to Ayodhyā. Lakshman meets his Urmilā, who is much reduced through her pining in his absence. He is imbued with this idea:

"Let the unseen be known by means unseen
Ours to acknowledge the present scene.
Here allow the love-filled thought to reign
And the ideal our sole God remain." (6)

There are a few differences in the details of Rām's story here from those given by Vālmiki and Tulsī. Sāketa sets out the arguments of the nihilist saint Jābālī; Vālmiki has mentioned these too, but Tulsī has not. (7)

(6) अलक्षकी बात अलक्ष जाने,
समक्षकी ही हम क्यों न मानें?
रहे वहीं प्लावित प्रीति-धार,
आदर्श ही ईश्वर है हमारा॥

(7) Rcm: p. 380 ed. by R. Bhaṭṭa (1927)

Hanumān obtains the important herbs required for Lakshman's survival from Bharat, who had them from a saint from the Himālayā. But in Vālmiki he gets these from Kailāś mountain and in Tulsī from Dhautāgiri. This author wanted Hanumān to get the herbs from Bharat so as to find an opportunity to relate Rām's story, and so Hanumān is shot on his outward journey. But in other writers he is shot on his return journey.

Tulsī has mentioned *Trijata*, a demon-maid of Ravan's family, who looks after Sītā in her captivity, but in Sāketa it is Saramā, wife of Vibhīṣaṇ, who discharges this duty.

As the poet has centred his story in Sāketa (Ayodhyā), he has altered certain features. He gives the account of the Swayam̐bar and the marriage of Sītā in the words of Urmilā. Again, travellers tell Rām's story to Śatrughna who in turn tells it to Bharat. The most notable divergence is in the supernatural power of Vasiṣṭha, who shows to the men of Avadh the scenes at *Lanka*. These are not in Vālmiki or Tulsī, who have given a continuous form to the story.

Keśav has set down his narrative in continuous form except that he makes a Brāhmaṇ in Viśvāmitra's Āśram tell the story of the swayam̐bar of Sītā before Rām puts in an appearance there at all. The poet has hurried over the details and forgotten sometimes some minor ones such as that of *Kabandh*

telling Rām to go to Sugrīv for help in recovering Sītā. (8)

Language:- As was said before (9) M. S. Gupta followed Mahabīr Prasād Dwivedī as far as language is concerned. The latter believed that the standard of the literary language should be the same as in the ordinary conversation of the learned. This is illustrated in Sāketa where the characters do employ this diction, and it continues the same throughout. There are Saṅskrit words, but these do not make the language Sanskritized. The idiom in Sāketa is different from that of Priyapravās in so far as the compound and Saṅskrit words are concerned. In the whole of Sāketa only one or two verses (10) occur with a single-compound constituting the entire line, whereas many such are found in Priyapravās.

As Gupta was an advocate of simplicity in literary expression there do not occur in this work the ambiguity and far-fetched meaning of Rām-Cāndrikā. The language of Sāketa does not express the tenderness of feeling, the brilliance of Alākārās and smoothness of expression of Tulsī's work in which the components cannot be separated without marring the beauty of other parts. The language of Padumāvalī and

(8) Supra p. 113

(9) Supra p. 220

(10) Sa. p. 446

of Sāketa is simple, but whereas the former is that which is spoken in the villages of Avadh, the latter is the current idiom in learned circles in modern North India. As Priyapravās and Sāketa have been written in Khariḥoli there is no need to remark on the forms of the words except in the following instances:-

(a) Sometimes the case-ending particles are joined to the nouns, at others they are written separately, e.g.

भारतसे Bharat-se (p. 30); भारत की Bharat ki (p. 36).

(b) Some uncommon words occur in Sāketa, as राहित्य rāhitya (p. 40); कुतुक kutuk (p. 69).

(c) In addition to a number of Sanskrit words the poet borrows some also from Urdu, as रोहं rāhẽ;

कलम kalam. He sometimes employs words in the form in which they are spoken by the common people, e.g. घूरे ghūre. Words imitating some sort of sound also appear, as डिङ्कार diṅkār.

(d) The conjunctive participles are formed either by the root alone, or by adding to it ~~कर~~ कर के ke, e.g.

लिख कर likh kar (p. 261); बन्ने के ban ke (p. 295).

The form with कर kar is more frequent than the other.

(e) Some verbs when used in a proverb have a different signification from their customary one, e.g. मारो māro

(beat) in the proverb: न मारो बोल na māro bol,

(p. 46) which means "do not pain me with your talking."

(f) The poet has used only rarely the identical Sanskrit-form of a verb, as हतोस्मि hatosmi (p. 178) for Hindi हत हूँ hat hū (am killed).

(g) This author is not as fond of changing his adjectival forms according to the gender of the nouns as "Hariaudh" was. But Sāketa contains examples of both (i) form changed according to the gender, as मूर्चिता उर्मिला murchitā Urmilā (murchitā from murchit); (ii) not changed according to gender, as अखिल सृष्टि akhil sṛṣṭi.

(h) Sometimes he has distorted the forms of the words for the sake of the rhyme, e.g. द्वैत dhīṭ for द्वैत dhīṭh; अये aye for ऐ ai. Rarely does he change the order of words in such a way that the meaning cannot be obtained without something being added, e.g.

कोपना कैकेयी की बात

kopana kaikeie kī bāt for

कैकेयीके कोपनेकी बात

kaikeie ke kopane kī bāt.

But these drawbacks are so rare that they do not interfere with the natural flow of the language, whose simplicity has added to its expressiveness and quick understanding.

General Remarks:-

Literary merits: This author has towards his personae feeling for them and with them. He seems to be sorry or happy as they are disposed, and therefore his descriptions are full of emotion and sentiment. This will be more apparent later.

(I) His Idea of Poetry:- In Sāketa it is soon obvious that much importance has not been attached to artistic embellishment, but the author has succeeded in perfecting the "flavour." From start to finish there are perceptible heart-beats; he has handled the materials so well that the poems in the work suggest true human feeling. Thus he is a supporter of the theory that "Rasa" is the soul of poetry, i.e. his main aim was to arouse the same feelings in readers as he himself entertained. He himself says, "The acumen which renders expression clear constitutes the art (of poetry)." (11) He says again, "Art enlivens the beautiful, and renders lifeless the awful." (12) These passages show clearly that the poet gave much attention to clear expression and to the manifestation of feeling. Towards producing this effect the subordinate ideas in Sāketa help by completing the main one. His ideal seems to be that of Bharat Muni who states, "'Rasa' results from the combination of determinants, consequents, and the secondary or accessory moods, with the permanent or dominant mood." (13)

(11) अभिव्यक्तिकी कुशल शक्ति ही तो कला (K. 132).

(12) सुन्दरको सजीव करती है, भीषणको निर्जीव कला।
(K. 374).

(13) विभावानुभाव व्यभिचारि संयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः।
(नट्यशास्त्र).

This idea is supported by such works on Saṅskṛit poetics as Daśarūp and Sāhitya-Darpana etc.

(II) His Idea of Love. Love is ideally visualised in the character of Urmilā. A saintly charitableness permeates her words, "Love knows no wrong." (14) The essence of such a love is sacrifice; the bigger the sacrifice the greater the love. There is no defeat for such a lover. The affection between two lovers he says is indescribable. "Defeat is victory in such a love." (15) This requires great concentration, the centering of all one is and hopes to be on the loved one whatever distance divides. He says, "Where there is such a concentration of the mind, there the pains of separation cannot reach." (16)

In the poet's view the development of love is bilateral and simultaneous, "Love grows on both the sides." (17) The

(14) प्रेममें कुछभी बुरा होता नहीं
(h.14).

(15)- हारमें जिसमें परस्पर जीत है
(h.17).

(16)- किन्तु जहाँ है मनोनियोग,
वहाँ कहीं का विरह-वियोग?
(h.25).

(17)- दोनों ओर प्रेम पलता है।
भारि पतंग भी जलता है,
हा! दीपक भी जलता है।
(h.262).

lovers would sacrifice all for each other, and persist though the other entreats against it.

Gupta's lovers do not confine their ambition to their own interests, they seek the welfare of all the world and selfish conduct pains them. Urmilā says, "The world follows a businesslike course; only advantageous aims are dear to men. It looks not to the work but its result. This indeed pains me." (18)

Love looks with friendly eye on Nature; Nature is dear to it. Even inanimate objects are an inspiration to the lover. So Urmilā says, "The sanctity of the character of the sun's moving rays is marvellous. They have held aloft that red ball (sun) on their own shoulders." (19) Her love renders service to others as the rays seem to her to do also. The lover prays that Nature may be blessed with prosperity after its own kind: "Hearken, O beautiful Nature, I wish for you everlasting greenness and bounties. Grow and grow with all ease." (20) Love is an absorbing interest for the

(18)- जगती वारीगृत्ति है रखती,
उसे -चाहती जिससे-चखती;
काम वहीं परिणाम निरखती,
मुझे यही खलता है।

(20) रहचिरीदिन तू हरी-भरी,
बढ़ मुखसे बढ़ सृष्टि-सुन्दरी!
A-276

(19)- चंचल भी किरणों का चोरन
क्या ही पावेन है भोला,
दे कर सार्व उन्होंने उहालिया
लाल लाल वह भोला॥

lover. For him or her there is no other path, and it leads to the attainment of the end. Love is a great duty. (21) The lover desires a world enveloped in love, whose ideal he believes to be in God.

Comparing this idea of love with that of Jāyasī we see that the former is never didactic, whereas the latter is as he teaches the philosophy of Sūfism throughout, in which consciousness of bekhudī or selflessness rather thwarts "self-lostness." But Jāyasī has succeeded in keeping love free of dogmas. Love in Tulsī becomes devotion; the lover is a devotee, and so there is no problem of bi-lateral growth or equality of sacrifice. Devotion calls for a complete unilateral sacrifice. (22) In Priyapravās love is nearer to Gupta's conception of it, and this is perhaps due to the fact that both writers practised their art under the influence of national service and sacrifice. In J. S. Prasād love has a deeper significance than in his predecessors. (23)

(21) हे प्रेम स्वयं कर्त्तव्य बड़ा
(p. 146)

(22) Supra, p. 121.

(23) infra, p. 266.

(III) His Idea of Fate:- There are some conflicting ideas about fate in Sāketa. Its author believes in the incarnation of God in Rām, (24) and accepts His omniscience and omnipotence. He says that all behaviour in the world is at the direction of the divine will of deity. His most learned character Vasiṣṭha supports this. (25) He further expounds this idea in the words: "No doubt all is gained through luck, but even luck (bad or good) is according to one's character in the previous life." (26) This idea seems to be maintained throughout the work. But in the end he has given the counsel that men should accept only those things which are present before them and not imaginary ones. (27)

(24) Sa. p. 2

(25) इन्द्रा के वृत्ति के अनुसार,
हुआ करते हैं सब व्यापार।
(Ch. 42)

(26) जाना अर्थ सभी भाग्य का भोग है,
किन्तु भाग्य भी पूर्व कर्म का योग है।
(Ch. 136).

(27) Supra, p. 226

This latter idea seems to contradict the former. If fate rules, it has no need to overrule, so why should man entertain an ideal of conduct or action? There is here the dichotomy which has been present in the human mind presumably since man began thinking or reconciling his will with something stronger, luck, destiny or fate. The ideas of fate or luck and rebirth are incorporate in Hindu philosophy. They are dogmas of Hindu theology, and have persisted since the foundation of Hinduism. But it is not a fact that from the beginning all Hindus have accepted this ideology without demur. There were cārwakās in olden times who were nihilistic and did not believe in God or luck but only in the present world and action. Prof. Rādhā⁸prī~~man~~ deals with such nihilist philosophy and quotes from several works in this direction which ~~vindicate~~ ^{depend} it, thus:- "Who colours wonderfully the peacocks, or who makes the cuckoos coo so well? There is, in respect of these, no cause other than nature." He adds:

"While life is yours, live joyously:
None can escape Death's searching eye;
When once this frame of ours they burn,
How shall it ever again return?"

(Indian Philosophy, p. 281)

Among advisers who urged Rām to return was Jāhāli, a hypocrite and a nihilist; he has been mentioned by Vālmīki and also in Sāketa (28). Thus from the very beginning there has been

(28) Sa. pp. 240-42.

this oscillation between the two views of man as mechanic and as machine, and Gupta had these before him. In the course of his narrative he sets forth the time-honoured dogmas of Hinduism, and this is well demonstrated to be the creed of the members of Rām's family. But the other view cannot be dismissed for it is the working principle of all reasoning minds in contact with worldly affairs, and it is given here neither as contradictory nor as propounding some other faith, but as a message to ordinary people that they should believe in the ideal as they believe in God. And as simple ideas are most acceptable to ordinary men, it is better that whilst they are in this world they should strive after ideal behaviour and endeavour to reach unto God. Gupta believed in God and in fate, but at the same time was unwilling that the people should remain inactively depending on them. He has given a message upholding honest endeavour and loving conduct.

His Power of Description:- There are four incidents in Sāketa in which the poet's power of description is particularly noticeable. These are: (1) the lamentation and self-reproaches of Dasarath at Rām's exile; (2) the assembly at Cñitrakūṭ; (3) Urmilā's experiences; (4) preparation by Śatrughna and Bharat to help Rām.

It will be seen later in the account of the various characters how intimately and graphically these have been

drawn. To avoid repetition only some of the criticisms will be noticed here.

The poet has well succeeded in his descriptions generally. Some objections have been raised to the first and third of the above. The most remarkable of them is made by the late Mahātmā Gāndhī. M. S. Gupta once asked his opinion of Sāketa. In his reply Mr. Gāndhī did not approve of the long descriptions of the sorrows of Dasarath and Urmilā. About the former he wrote, "I have to say one thing more. The cries of Dasarath in Tulsī Dās's Rāmāyana could not affect our hearts. Tulsī Dās was unable to do anything else. But such cries are not appropriate to this age. It takes from the heroic sentiments and the sincerity in devotion. Persons who think of worldly enjoyments as short-lived never can be so much troubled by separation and death" In answer Gupta wrote, "We have formed our opinion that Dasarath's great affliction was due to the curse of the blind sage or to the separation of Rām; he had to bear this great trouble in this manner and had to end his life. His cries may be respected as he cried not only for his son, but for that son who was the Omnipotent He also wept because of the evil act of his wife and the partition of the family. Therefore the Rāmāyana (of Tulsī) contains no fewer lamentations. But this sentence of yours is very remarkable that this description does not suit this age."

Mr. Gāndhī in his reference to this age meant that Sāketa should have a picture of a person who would lead Indian sentiments and ideas along an ideal path. To such a truth-seeker as he it must be an unwelcome idea to make a great character mourn for earthly relations. But the sphere of poetry cannot be governed by the canons of truth and religion. Dasarath was an uxorious man; he loved Kaikeie most of all for her unique beauty, and always fulfilled her wishes. On the other hand he loved Rām from the core of his heart. So when he heard the cruel words of Kaikeie and of the exile of Rām he could not but be grieved to the centre of his being. His bitter cries indicate his real character. Thus the poet is in no way at fault in painting this natural picture of Dasarath.

About Urmilā's lamentations Mr. Gāndhī wrote, "Though Urmilā's cries look well due to the (suitable) language, yet it is doubtful whether this should have been included in Sāketa. Tulsī Dās has not dealt much with her, and this has been held to be a defect. I do not see in it such a thing. It looks to me like the cleverness of an artist Urmilā's qualities should have been a pointer to the higher ones of Sītā. But Urmilā possessed no fewer than Sītā, being her own sister." Answering him Gupta wrote, "I have heard a tale that sorrow liveth even in Heaven. Even angels are sorry to see the troubles of us worldly creatures, and this is our

solace. If notwithstanding these things sorrow can be thought of as a defect, you can well think that you will be the weakest." (29) Thus the poet has defended his portrait of Urmilā, who is sorry not on account of her own separated beloved but because of the afflicted condition of the people of Ayodhyā.

Treatment of Nature:- Gupta has seen in Nature a sympathetic personality. His healthy philosophy of human life, coupled with his ideal conception of love, has given it a very attractive form. It always shares the gladness and sadness of the people living close to it. When the city of Ayodhyā was cheerful and flourishing the River Sarjū in the city looked much livelier. Its currents impressed the spectators with lofty ideas. The small gardens, laid out beside the temples on its banks appeared to be laughing in harmony. (30) Forests seemed gladdened at the approach of Rām. (31) Sītā rejoiced to be with her husband and in the forest, the more so as she was living amidst natural surroundings. (32) She enjoyed watching the free flight of pigeons, and frolics of the young monkeys. (33) She looked admiringly at the bare

(29) As mentioned in ^{Gupta ji ki Kavyadhara} G.K.D. Ch. on Sāketa (Hindī).

(30) Sa. p. 6

(31) Sa. p. 107

(32) Sa. p. 134.

(33) Sa. p. 135.

trees which were covered with green creeper. (34) She felt drawn towards the shades under the trees where the occasional rays of the sun put the gloom to flight. (35) She found an exact illustration of the varying conditions among men in two trees growing side by side, one of which was crowned with flowers, while leaves were falling from the other.

Nature in Ayodhyā was sincerely sharing the sorrow of the people at the departure of Rām to the forest. "Lustreless day passed away, Night came on, and evening came again motionless, and all the hours seemed like a sonless woman. (36) Nature shared the grief of Sumāntra who was returning home after leaving Rām.

"The wind blew restlessly.

Lifeless had become the living earth;
Fear had overpowered Nature's mirth;
Directions looked like a giant perfect,
Who stood, with open mouth, erect." (37)

While painting the pathos of Urmilā the poet has well-described several seasons. He has co-ordinated the conditions in Nature with the state of Urmilā's mind, and linked them in

(34) Sa. p. 136.

(35) Sa. p. 136; also pp. 206-207

(36) Sa. p. 149

(37) Sa. p. 153.

this epigram of Urmilā:- "Troubled life is the sun or smoke, the world resembles the mind's pose." (38)

Further, Nature sometimes becomes with him a preacher. In this respect he seems to follow Wordsworth, but with this difference that, whereas the former receives moral lessons from it through comparison with worldly life, the latter receives them with the spirit of a devotee. Wordsworth worshipped Nature and so to him even an impulse from the woods was more of a teacher than all the sages. But Gupta is concerned with making the parallel between the conditions of trees and of men. (39)

At some places he gives a simple impressionist sketch of what he sees. For instance while Rām was on his way to the forest sights and scenes are described just as they appeared to him by the roadside: "At one place the trees looked like a *guard*. ~~guard~~. Elsewhere birds pecked and deer browsed hard. And bushes spread both big and small, And made for hares a natural hall." (40)

He has always painted Nature in mild mood. It is very near to him and hardly to have a separate identity. Again his descriptions are realistic and never mystic. He has never aimed at putting another meaning behind the one on the

(38) Sa. p. 290.

(39) Sa. p. 138

(40) Sa. p. 130

surface. In this respect he differs from "Prasād." Gupta's descriptions differ from those of the lyric-poet Sumitrānaṇḍan "Pañt" in this that while the former combines in his sketch both Nature's beauteous and useful aspects, (41) the latter gives mostly the beauteous one, and seems to be the closer observer of it. Gupta differs from "Hariaṇḍh" in this that he does not bring the names of trees and flowers merely to line or load his verses.

Characterisation:- It has already been pointed out that almost all the characters in Sāketa are imbued with sentiment imparted by the author's feeling with them and for them.

Male Characters.

Dasarath:- Vālmīki has given a clear picture of him as a sensuous person, and too much in the hands of his beautiful queen Maikela. Tulsī has pictured him as an upright king and good husband and father and has overlooked his weaknesses. Gupta has drawn a very similar likeness to that of the latter. Dasarath begins to feel doubts of his survival when he realises that Bharat cannot be present at the coronation. This doubt

(41) रूपहले, सुनहले प्राप्र बीर,
नीले पीले औ लाल मोर,
रे गन्ध सन्ध हो ठौर ठौर
उड पाँति पाँति में चिर उमन,
करते मयुके बन में गुञ्जन
(Gumman, p. 2).

works on the mind of Kaikele and prompts her to ask the two cruel boons. Dasarath now reproaches himself; he entreats her not to insist on their fulfilment, and pointing to his beloved Rām asks her to take pity on one so worthy. He implores Lakshmaṇa to kill him (Dasarath) and thereby stop Rām from going to the forest. (42) He yields up his life when he sees Sumāntra, whose return alone breaks the last bond of hope. (43)

The Dasarath of Sāketa has the same good heart as he has in Rām-Cārit-Mānas, but does not here make the same strong appeal. Indian villagers weep much to read of the lamentations of Dasarath in Tulsī's work but are not nearly so deeply affected by the Dasarath of Sāketa.

Rām:- Rām is the same perfect human personality, and genuine incarnation of God. He has come down to earth to remove evil and do good to the honest. (44) He is almost always calm, but sometimes gives way to emotion. On seeing the pathetic condition of his father he can hardly restrain his feelings and addresses Kaikele as "Royal Lady!" (45) At the same time Lakshmaṇa, though infuriated, refers to her as "The mother." It is strange that Gupta's Rām should at that time

(42) Sa. p. 66.

(43) Sa. p. 160

(44) Sa. p. 2

(45) Sa. p. 55.

address her so, because afterwards he always calls her "Mother." He submissively accepts his father's order of exile and calms Lakshmana's fury. In the assembly at Chitrakūt, he is the same Rām as in Tulsī, and in the battle of Lanka he plays an equally heroic part, and later turns out to be the same sort of king. The poet has not paused to develop at greater length Rām's character as he has attached much importance to Urmilā. But even so in this small painting Rām, the warrior-god, stands out as the hero.

Bharat:- Most auspicious was that day when the pen of the father of the Indian poets, (46) i.e. Vālmīki, painted an ideal picture of affection and self-sacrifice and gave it the name of Bharat. It was a Red Letter Day in the history of Indian literature when Vālmīki pictured a prince, giving up a mighty kingdom out of the love he bore his brother and enduring hard penance in sympathy with him. Since then Bharat has been an inspiration to writers on Rām. None could put the elder brother into verse and omit the other. The saintly Tulsī was able to do justice to a character like Bharat. And M. S. Gupta, though attaching very great importance to Urmilā's

(46) Tulsī called him "Kaviśvara", Rām. p. 1.

character, had to paint Bharat's also.

Bharat was called from his maternal uncle's home after Rām's exile and Dasarth's demise. (47) He was perplexed when he heard of these grave happenings, and when he learned that he was himself the cause he became senseless. He reproached his mother, and went to Kausilyā to ask her to intercede, and set off for Citrakūt to persuade Rām to return. He made penance his portion, and dwelt outside the city, and knew no happiness till Rām came back. It was Bharat who gave the herbs to save Lakshmana's life. Gupta has added this last incident to make amends to Bharat. Bharat was always sorry in Vālmiki and Tulsī that he had not been able to help Rām in his exile; Gupta has tried to efface this sorrow by introducing this event.

Lakshmana: He is here the same impetuous character, ready at provocation to kill anyone; even Kaikeie came under his threat. (48) He is the same true servant of Rām, ever submissive to him. He tells Rām, "Whatever is acceptable to you, is always acceptable to me." (49) He toils with Rām through the forests, and helps him bravely in the battle of *Lanka*. In fine cavalier fashion he appreciates Indrajit's gallantry, and when he goes forward to fight with him a second

(47) Sa. pp. 166-174.

(48) Sa. p. 59.

(49) Sa. p. 64.

time, he addresses him as "Brother" and says: "Bravo for the first victory!" (50) This sort of behaviour was not recorded in Tulsī. Gupta has added something to the stature of all his characters.

Śatrughna:- He is almost the same as in Tulsī. He is as sorry as Bharat at Rām's exile. He takes the burden of administration upon him, in the absence of Rām and Bharat when the wooden sandals are on the throne. He summons the army and prepares to set out for *Laṅkā* to help Rām, a fact that is not mentioned in Tulsī.

Hanumān:- He is here as a truly devoted servant of Rām, and serves him to the last. His features are not so distinct as in Tulsī. In Sāketa he tells the story of Rām after his departure from Pancvaṭī till the time of Lakshmaṇ's swooning.

Rāvana is of course the opponent of Rām, but here the details are not so full. He stole away Sītā, and fought with Rām until his last breath. He has been given here a heart which wept at his brother's death. Even Rām was moved at this scene in the battlefield. (51)

Female Characters.

Kaśīlā:- She is the same gracious figure — (52) ⁵² As in Tulsī. She is delighted to see Bharat while her own son Rām

(50) Sa. p. 427

(51) Sa. p. 398

(52) Sa. p. 76

is on his way into exile on account of the scheming of Bharat's mother. She consents to the going of Rām and Sītā when she knows that the former has been ordered to go by Dasarath and Kaikeie.

Kaikeie:- There is here a yet fuller picture of Kaikeie. Formerly she had loved Rām more than Bharat, but her maid Mantharā's evil machinations had led to her undoing. Doubts assailed her mind. She remembers Mantharā's words, "Even a son like Bharat is not called home, due to suspicions on him." (53) Tulsī has given a supernatural cause for this difference in her attitude. In his work Saraswatī, (54) the goddess of learning, comes at the request of the gods and changes her mind. But Gupta has not introduced any supernatural agency; Kaikeie becomes cruel, she will not listen to the requests of her husband, and remains stern even at his death. The poet says, "At this demise, the people grew blind, save only Kaikeie, that queen, unkind." (55)

(53) Sa. pp. 32-35

(54) शारद बलि बिनय सुर करहीं
 बारहिं बार पाँय लै परहीं॥
 बिपति हमारे बिनोकि बड़े,
 मातु करिय सो आज्ञा,
 राम जाहिं वन राजाजि,
 होइ सकल सुर-काज॥
 (बालीकान्त)

(55) Sa. p. 164.

But her sternness and cruelty melt at the reproach and sacrifice of her son Bharat, who has no wish even to speak to her but goes to Kaśilyā. Kaikeie accompanies Bharat to Chitrakūt. She becomes penitent, and it is she who requests Rām to return. She rebukes herself; "All the ages should see this cruel scene, Raghū's family once had an ill-starred queen." (56) She says to Rām, "I, the same Kaikeie, and you my same Rām!" She now regains her position, and the whole assembly at Chitrakūt makes this answer to her self-reproaches, "Bravo to that mother a hundred times, who love a son of Bharat's kind!" (57) Kaikeie prepares to go with Bharat to Lanka to help Rām.

Sumitrā, the mother of Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, and Māṇḍavī, wife of Bharat, receive more notice than in Rām-Charat-Mānas. They are patterns of motherly and wifely devotion. Courage begets its own kind; their self-sacrifice is reflected in the conduct of their dearest.

(56) युग युग तक चलती रहे कठोर कहानी
 'स्वकुलमें भी वो एक अभागिनी'
 (Sā. p. 231)

(57) "सौ बार धन्य वह स्वलालकी माँ है
 जिस जननीने है जना भरतस भाई"
 (Sā. p. 231)

Māṇḍavī shows all the traditional attention due to a husband. When he is doing penance, she carries food to him, she transmits some of her own courage to him when he is grieving over Lakshmaṇa's plight in *Laiṅkā*. "My lord," she said, "Let duty be done! Thou art ever near to me, though far distant." (58) She resigned all worldly pleasure without any regret, and looked after the women in the royal household. She wishes victory to Śatrughna. She was ~~prepared~~ ^{ready} to accompany her husband, Bharat, when he was preparing for *Laiṅkā*. (59) Gupta has done well to paint these characters, whose greatness was not manifested by Tulsī, and remained implied only.

Sītā:- Sītā is true to her traditional description, a loyal partner and a loving spouse. Gupta has made explicit in her at Cnitrakūt, a close sympathy with the natural surroundings. She takes an interest in the birds, trees and flowers. (60) She toiled hard in her garden and grew a number of plants and flowers. She calls others to join her in spinning and weaving. (61) These activities reflect the influence of the movement associated with Gāndhī and his advocacy of spinning

(58) Sa. p. 399

(59) Sa. p. 412.

(60) Sa. pp. 207-8

(61) Sa. p. 209

on the "~~ch~~arak~~h~~ā" (spinning wheel). Sītā is even presented as an artist, for she drew in the forest a picture of Urmilā. In Kāmāyanī Śraddhā feels a similar urge to such activities. Sītā, as always, is the embodiment of virtue, choosing the right, resisting evil, and feeling, too, joy in and through all.

Urmilā:- The best drawn character of all is Urmilā, wife of Lakshmaṇa. Hitherto she had been overshadowed and her qualities overlooked. In Sāketa she is brought into the foreground, and holds the stage at the close.

She is introduced to the reader with her sweet mien and attractive garments in the palace of Dasarath, occupied in playing with her parrot. Lakshmaṇa enters, and after some cheerful exchanges she gladly consents to his going into exile with Rām, and bids him not be vexed by memory of what he is leaving for the time being. Separation afflicts but does not break her spirit, and she seeks relief outside herself in helping others. She is become a symbol of self-sacrifice. Chapters IX and X are taken up with an account of her sympathy with Nature and her universal good will. Thought of self is kept in the background of consciousness. Once when distraught she saw Lakshmaṇa before her and cried, "My Lord, why are you come being thus false to your true duty? If you have come for a short while, go at once and serve your brother." (62) Another time Śatrughna came to comfort her.

He had given up the management of the state and expressed his intention of withdrawing from worldly affairs. But Urmilā said, "Dear one, if you too give up directing the state, who else will be able to undertake it? Strive for peace in the family, in the city and throughout the kingdom." (63)

Urmilā is full of love for husband and home, but it finds wholesome exercise in caring for the welfare of others. Her love is altruistic. In this respect love stands in marked contrast to that, ^{for instance,} of the hero in the Persian romantic tale of Lailā Majnūn by Nizāmī (d.c. 600/1200). Majnūn's is a consuming love, but is its own end. It rebounds from any impact with the world.

Sītā and Urmilā: Urmilā becomes here more endeared to one than Sītā. Sītā goes with her husband to the forest and so it becomes a celestial garden to her, while stay-at-home Urmilā makes her garden like the distant forest. (64)

The two stand in considerable contrast to each other. Urmilā is placed in a very favourable light. Even Rām (65) commends

(63) Sa. p. 222

(64) Sa. p. 249

(65) "ते ते सहधर्म-चारिणी के भी ऊपर
धर्मस्थापन किया भाग्य-शालिनि इस भूपर!"
(Sā. p. 442)

her and says she exceeds Sītā in her qualities, and Sītā too acknowledges her merit.

Urmilā and Yaśodharā:- The pangs of separated lovers have been a long standing plaint with oriental poets. Gupta returned to the theme in a short narrative poem Yaśodharā.

Yaśodharā was the wife of Gautama, who left her as she slept at midnight, all unconscious of his new purpose of renunciation of the world. Hers was a harder blow than Urmilā's, and her heart ached at the thought that he could have gone without mention of leaving. But her love persisted through all and waxed greater than before.

Urmilā and Devsenā:- A similar character to that of Urmilā but more developed has been portrayed by J. S. "Prasād" in his drama Skand-Gupta. Devsenā is regarded as his best female impersonation. She is a princess in the family of the Pālav dynasty and is devoted to Skand-Gupta, who however is attracted by another girl, Vijayā. Devsenā knows this but is never jealous of her, and even resolves to help her in getting Skand-Gupta for her husband. Vijayā proves unworthy in the course of time and Skand had to change his mind. Devsenā's brother's dying wish is that she should marry Skand, in whose service he had died. But she turned proudly away from a love that would not be hers for her own sake, and lived

the remainder of her days in useful service of her community, with the memory of love to sustain her.

There is an air of modernity in the treatment of Urmilā and particularly of Devsenā in their independence of tradition, and their finding in service a practical outlet for their pent up feelings or disappointment. Both these characters are imaginary creations of two great writers in modern Hindi; perhaps none will deny that "Prasād" was the master born, while Gupta reached the height by painstaking effort.

IV. Figures of Speech:- Though at places a number of figures of speech occur the poet is neither fond of their use, nor did they come naturally to him. Tulsī Dās did not wish to use the Alākārās for their own sake, yet they adorn most of his verses. Quite otherwise was it with Keśav, who used them in most of his verses for their own sake. The poet of Sāketa cannot be compared with either of these in this respect, for only a limited number of figures of speech appear and these are in very simple form. Sometimes he employs metaphors, as when he calls Kakele's house "a volcano." (66) This metaphor is appropriate because the acceptance of the two boons in this house led to the sorrows which enveloped everyone in Ayodhyā.

(66) Sa. p. 43.

His similes (67) fit the thought and the occasion. For instance when ~~Maikela~~ Maikela was lying in a frenzy in her palace he well says of her, "(She lay) like a lioness, with anguish in her mind for not getting prey on that day." (68)

His similes are more apt where he describes the sorrowful condition of Urmilā. She exclaims, "I am like a fresh wave of earth's ocean which crossed to the opposite shore but came back again." (69) Here Gupta has been influenced by the symbolic school. She simply means that she attained her object but lost it again, and relapsed into loneliness under the hand of fate. In the following he has made use of long similes (70) full of imagination. Urmilā intends to indicate the state of a girl who cast herself on the burning pyre from anguish at the separation of her beloved. Afterwards the beloved one came distraught near the dying fire; she was like a half-burned tree. As soon as tear-drops fell from his eyes on the pyre, the branches blossomed anew, and flowers grew with the design of her former outline. Creepers too grew up around. (71)

(67) *Alaohis*: "रथ मानो स्करित्क घन था,
जल भी नचा न वह गर्जन था,
वह बिजली भी थी लाय नहीं,
विधि-विधि पर कहीं उणय नहीं।
(Sā. p. 153)"

(68) *Sa.* p. 43

(69) *Sa.* p. 303

(70) Such similes are found in Chapter IX of *Sā.*

(71) *Sa.* pp. 317-18

There are frequent instances of simple alliterations, and sometimes he has recourse to repetition of a word in the interest of rhythm. (72)

V. Supernatural Elements:- Gupta has well observed this dictum of Abercrombie: "It is of man and man's purpose in the world that the epic-poet has to sing, not the purpose of the gods and they must be kept within the beautiful bound of illustration." Rām combines the part of a dutiful son and a powerful prince. At no place does there enter any supernatural agency except in the scene at Ayodhyā, when the people are enabled through the supernatural power of Vasiṣṭha to behold the events which befell at *Laṅkā*. This episode is the poet's own creation. But notwithstanding this supernatural power Vasiṣṭha still symbolises an extraordinary human personality.

As an Epic:- M. S. Gupta has followed the Saṅskrit mode of epic-writing; he begins with invocations to the deity and opens each chapter with the like. His work contains in its twelve chapters Rām's story, an ever popular and stirring theme for the Hindu community. The hero is personified in Rām, on whom have been bestowed the highest powers of man and in whom is vested all power divine.

(72) तुलमल दलमल चंचल चंचल
मल मल मलमल तारा ।

In the beginning of Chapter I the poet invokes the aid of Saraswatī, the goddess of learning. The other chapters open with a prayer to Vālmiki, (73) Vyās, (74) Kālī Dās, (75) Tulsī (76) or other master poets, and at other times he beseeches the pen to write well. From a survey of these invocations it is clear that he has gone on independent lines. They are not mythological figures but the names of personages once great on earth, and he does not go beyond the goddess of learning in the circle of deities; the pen as the symbol of creation he calls to his aid. Most of his predecessors prayed to Rām, Śaṅkar, Lakshmī and such other deities. Jāyasī called on the prophet Moḥammad for help. Similarly the poet of Rāso, Tulsī, and ~~Kesar~~ all invoked God and other deities. "Harilaṇḍ" omits these invocations altogether. Thus nowhere was there such single devotion to learning, its goddess and its great sons. This poet has shown close attachment to his profession of writing, and besought help only from those from whom he really expected it in the course of his artistic work.

The emphasis on Urmilā's woes and the centering of the scenes in Ayodhyā have checked the free flow of the poetry. To this the dialogues too have contributed.

-
- (73) Sa. Chapter IV. V.1
 (74) " Chapter XI. V.1
 (75) " Chapter X. V.1
 (76) " Chapter XVI V.1

Dialogue:- In treating of Rām-Cāndrikā it was observed that dialogues had been given a natural place within poetry since earliest times. Drama is to a great extent if not entirely a form of art developed from the dialogue. Rām-cāndrikā suffered from their frequent inclusion. Though not so frequently yet they often come in Sāketa, but with this difference that, while in the former they are more dramatic and disrupt the continuity, in the latter they merge better into the text and are less noticeable.

It was almost inevitable that Gupta should not remain unaffected by the new symbolic school of poetry. Thus even in Sāketa lyrical verses are found and express the sorrow of Urmilā. Prof. Abercrombie writes, "It (epic) will tell its tale both largely and intensely, and the diction will be carried on the volume of a powerful, flowing metre." (77) It is doubtful whether lyrics can be regarded to have the requisite "powerful, flowing metre." Though Winternitz thinks it probable that artistic court-composition has, on the whole taken its rise from the lyric, yet this does not mean that lyrics should be used in epics. The long descriptions of Urmilā's love, coupled with the frequent use of lyrics for its expression in Sāketa, has much impeded the natural current of the poetry. Mill admits that, "Many of the

(77) The Epic, p. 49.

greatest poems are in the form of fictitious narratives, and in almost all good serious fiction there is good poetry." This is true of such poems in Sāketa, but the long imaginary description of Urmilā's love does not fit in with the historical setting of Rām. Though interested in Urmilā the poet still retains the majesty of his hero and the sanctity of Sītā's womanhood. He gives sufficient place to the lofty character of Bharat, and deals with other characters too with sympathy. Hence his poem has become a mixture of fact and fiction. Further, his epic should be one "grand-design," hence the isolation of a considerable part for a certain character due to the author's own interest in her lessens rather than increases the value of the work as an epic. "Epic poetry exhibits life in some great symbolic attitude," (78) but in Sāketa this exhibition has been deleteriously affected by the personal leanings of the poet. Gupta is a Vaiṣṇava and naturally accepts Rām as the deity. So, though interested in Urmilā, he still makes his Rām the hero. This divided loyalty to the characters has led to disunity in the epic. Thus Sāketa does not tell, "the tale both largely and intensely," and to give an important role to Urmilā the poet has to centre all his theme in Ayodhyā. This has compelled him to relate it briefly, and give larger scope to his imagination, but it

(78) The Epic, p. 69

is doubtful whether "life has itself submitted to the plastic imagination." (79)

In spite of a few defects in Sāketa the poem does tell an heroic story, and as it possesses several of the qualities of an epic, this work can be classified as such.

(79) The Epic, p. 45.

SYMBOLIC (EPIC): KĀMĀYANĪ

INTRODUCTION.

In the introduction to the ~~modern age~~^{SĀKETA}¹ it was shown how symbolic poetry entered into Hindi literature, and how M.S. Gupta had been influenced by it. The poets of the Dwivedī-School, i.e. the followers of Mahābīr Prasād Dwivedī, composed realistic poems. They gave importance to the language and described objects in realistic shape. Soon after, a new school of poets, influenced by English poets like Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats and encouraged by the poems of Dr. Tagore, revolted against the former fashion and allowed full scope to sentiment and imagination. In due course they followed symbolism in poetry. J.S. "Prasād" was the first of note of these revolutionaries, and in spite of strong criticism he held to his ideas and the course of Hindi poetry was changed. Symbolic poetry describes things but the indirect reference is to something else that they symbolised, which it may name or leave the reader to discover. This has greatly helped this author in narrating his story with an underlying allegory. He has brought to his text a wide knowledge of Hindu philosophy.

The Poet:- Bābū Jay Shankar "Prasād" was born in 1889 in Benares, into the well-known family of Sūghanī Sāhu. It was reputed for its charities, and even from the time of his grandfather his home had been a rest-house of poets, students and others. At the age of eleven he went to all the pilgrimage places of India and acquired

1. Supra. page 221.

thus early a knowledge of life and Nature. His first poem was written in a boat as he proceeded to Dhārāch~~at~~tra. On his journeys towards Purī and Bhūṇeśwar he saw both sea and hills, an experience which equipped him the better for his poetic task.

"Prasād" was rich and led an easy and enjoyable life among his friends. His heart was susceptible to the tender passion of love. Some time later a domestic dispute reduced the family property. "Prasād" was disappointed at this turn in events, and sought consolation in philosophy. While still young he began to write poems. Dramas, stories and critical essays came from his pen. In every sphere of literature he excelled. He has produced the best dramas in Hindi, and has composed the best epic in Kharīboli, viz. Kāmāyanī. He worried excessively, and this probably aggravated the illness that carried him off in 1937, at the age of 48 years.

The Story:- The theme in Kāmāyanī is shortly treated. Manu, the hero has been saved from the final destruction of the earth. He was one of the survivors in a world given up to pleasure and ease. He brooded over the past as he sat tired and despairing on a peak in the Himālayās. Another survivor, Śraddhā, was the daughter of Kām and hence is known as Kāmāyanī, and the work is named after her. She meets Manu, proves attractive to him and agrees to live with him. Hers is a placid, contented nature but his is keen on the chase and desires excitement. She tamed an animal and loved it; he grew jealous at this sharing of love, and on the advice of two demon priests, Kilāt and Ākuli, sacrificed the animal in a Yajna during Śraddhā's absence. She was grieved on her return, and tried

to induce him to refrain from taking the life of innocent creatures but all in vain. When her child was about to be born and she began to make the necessary preparations he was resentful of her activities and one day went away leaving her alone. He reached the city of Sāraswat, which was ruled by Queen Irā. This state was being badly administered and Irā was searching for an able manager. Manu agreed to undertake the task. He managed well, but the subjects were still dissatisfied and requested more privileges and facilities. Manu wished to rule automatically and to obtain possession of the Queen. Led by Kilāt and Akuli, the people revolted against him, and in the struggle that ensued, Manu was wounded.

Śraddhā in a dream foresaw this as it happened. When her son, named Mānav, was born, she set out with him in her distraction to find Manu. Fortunately, she was seen by Irā who pointed him out in a forlorn state. Śraddhā ministered to him and healed him. Manu was now tired of worldliness and of Irā, and though he welcomed Śraddhā, he was so ashamed of his past ^{that} he found it impossible to resume the *old relation*. He ran away again. Śraddhā left her son with Irā and bade them look to the creation of a new world. She goes in search of Manu whom she finds in much distress. Both start out in search of true bliss. They obtain true insight into the three worlds of desire, knowledge and action. In the end with Śraddhā's help, Manu realises true bliss. Irā and Mānav also make a pilgrimage and join them there.

The story is an allegory. The poem is an example of "allegorical interpretation", as distinct from "allegorical invention" which proceeds from a text or proverb and brings out some

sort of moral from it. Manu represents man, and Śraddhā devotion. Man obtains bliss only through this medium. The substance of the allegory in Kāmāyanī will be dealt with later.²

The Language:- Kāmāyanī has been written in standard Hindi Kharībolī. There are mentioned here only peculiarities of ~~the~~ language:-

- (1) ~~It~~ has used no words of other languages except Saṅskrit.
- (2) Compound words are few.
- (3) Tatsam nouns and adjectives have been mostly used. Verbal forms are all from Kharībolī.
- (4) A few uncommon words have been used, e.g. संपादो Sampāo (p.114), ज्वालामुखियों Jwālāmukhiyō (p.114).
- (5) A few words have been taken from the common tongue of the villagers, e.g. कुतूहल kutūhal (p.24) and ठिठोली (ṭhiṭholī). The colour of a passage changes, sometimes unconsciously, with the situation. In Kāmāyanī a piece of ordinary narrative is in a bright tone that grows deeper as it passes into something earnest or serious till in ~~its~~ philosophical range ~~it~~ would be incomprehensible to the man in the street.

Literary Merits:

I. General Remarks:- J.S. "Prasād" was a lover of old Hindu culture and its great past. He took materials for his dramas, poems, and most of the stories from the best ancient periods. He

wrote about Aśoka, Skāndgupta, ~~Chāṇ~~Chāṇḍragupta and Rājyaśrī, sister of Harṣa. He borrowed too from Buddhistic sources, and so in all his works there is a trace of Buddhism. His esteem of the past took him for material for his epic to the Hindu scriptures, the Rgveda, Śatpath Brāhmaṇa and Chāndogya Upaniṣad. In Kāmāyanī Manu, addressing Śraddhā expresses his love of the past in these terms, "O, you fairy one, sing new songs about the past." So "Prasād" has sung of the past in new forms, thus adapting the ancient structure to accommodate new ideas. His main aim in writing this work was not merely to tell the story of Manu but to illustrate the development of the human faculties, and with it is bound the allegory containing the solution of the world's troubles.

His Idea of Love:— Love begins for him simultaneously with a resolution of total submission and sacrifice. It is unhesitating, and it ministers to others. Love has in it a virtue which makes its possessor see it as an element in every other thing. Here it becomes mysterious. In the poet's eyes this ideal love is of one kind with that divine love which sees the same value in everything.

3. श्री अक्षर! उसी अक्षरके नूतन गान सुनाओ!

६५

(p. 127)

4. चेतनाका सुन्दर इतिहास, अखिल मानव भावों का सत्य;
(p. 58) विश्वके हृदय-पटलपर दिव्य, अक्षरों से अंकित हो जाय।

5. समर्पण लो सेवाका सार, सजल संस्कृतिका यह पतवार;

(p. 57)

6. आजसे यह जीवन उत्सर्ग, इसी पद-तलमें निगत विकार।

(p. 57)

7. राशि राशि विखर पड़ा है शांत संचित प्यार;
रख रहा है उसे दोकर, दीन विश्व उधारा।
(p. 86)

This ideal love may be one of three sorts:-

8

(1) It may be bi-lateral as described by M.S.Gupta in Sāketa.

(2) It may develop only on one side, the human, when it is called devotion, and looks unto God for strength and help.

(3) It may develop on one side and want nothing in return.

The last kind of love is depicted by "Prasād". It is found in all his works. Devsenā in Skandgupta, and ~~Devsena~~ Alakā in Chandra-gupta possess it, and here⁸ an embodiment of it. And this unilateral love proceeds from a pure heart. It never dies, and it is an end in itself. It is neither jealous nor ambitious.

Śraddhā seeks to mould the beloved after her heart's desire. It grieves her to see Mamu intent on the chase and she would change his attitude towards animals. Further, love is active even on occasion, for the other's good, and endures unto the end.

His Idea of Fate:- For "Prasād" the whole world is in the hand of Fate. It determines the actions and the position of all. In all his works Fate (नियति) controls the human conduct; so too, in Kāmāyanī, where it destroys, as in the deluge, but also preserves, as in the revival afterwards. According to his belief it is Fate which has made the people love material things and hasten towards destruction. It operates through the natural elements only.

"Prasād" compares Fate to an actress (नटी) and the world to a stage, and thus what happens is merely the actress playing out her part

9

8. Supra, p. 232.

9. दस नियति नटी के प्रति भीषण
प्रभिनयकी कृपा नाच रही॥
(1.158).

This idea of Fate does not imply idleness. "Prasād" had a progressive view of life; he would have Fate faced and withstood, and Śraddhā seeks to inspire to effort the dejected Manu:

"और यह क्या तुम सुनते नहीं

विधाताका मंगल वरदान-

"शक्तिशाली हो विजयी बनो,"

विश्वमें गुंज रहा जय गान। (p.57)

His Power of Description:- "Prasād" was an observant and reflective artist. When, for instance, he described one of his characters¹⁰ sitting under the shade of a rock on a peak in the Himālayās, he paused to ponder on the majesty of the mountain above, its permanence, its calm retreats and free-flowing streamlets, and some philosophical concept accompanies such scenes. These descriptions show that he has personally observed and closely just such scenes. He describes the great ocean; the life of the gods,¹¹ which represents the easy conditions of the rich; the various human faculties; the materialistic world and the world of bliss. He dwells also on the psychological state of mind of the persons under observation. When he tells of the destruction of the enjoyments of the gods, he mentions their love in groves covered with the blossoming flowers. Their songs on the flute which gave them intense pleasure have faded away, and the poet sympathises with them. He speaks of the perishing of these delights with the deepest feeling.

When he depicts the life of the people in the city of Sāraswat, which represents the present world, he describes their well-built

10. हिमालय के उच्च शिखर पर, बैठ शिला की शीतल छाँह में,
एक पुरुष भोगे नयनों से, देख रहा था प्रकृति-प्रवाह।

11. कुसुमित कुञ्जों में वे पुलकित प्रेमालिंगन हुए विलीन;
मौन हुई है मूर्धित लीन और न सुन पड़ती अब बीन।
11 (H. 10-11).

12
houses, The effects on their life of the changing seasons, and
~~does not~~ tell of the sweat that breaks on the brow of the farmer
labouring in the field. The men are working hard to obtain the
fullest use of the natural wealth of the place, and the time has
13
grown short.

His psychological study of human experience is unique in Hindi
literature. He makes pen portraits not of "the seven ages of man",
but of fifteen emotional experiences to which he is subject during
his soul's course to the ultimate bliss depicted in the last. First
of these is:-

- (i) चिंता (anxious thought) A lonely forlorn person becomes
tired of his state. He thinks of his past and his future. The
14
more he thinks of past joys the more troubled he grows. "Even
the first memory of the delightful past brings the utmost uneasi-
ness. This anxious thought troubles everyone in this world. It
is merely the result of the present defects and is due to ill
fortune." This careful reflection poisons the mind. In the end
it destroys all happiness and leads one to think of ending it.
(ii) आशा (Hope) In this despairing state of the mind/some rays
come
of hope; the whole atmosphere is changed, and the prospect of a
better future opens up. Fresh courage stimulates the mind to work
and to co-operate. Man enters on creative action.
(iii) प्रदु (The Love-element). For spiritual life there is
necessary true love. Man cannot achieve his end unless he co-
operates with Śraddhā, which is the external image of the heart.
Śraddhā "is lit in man's mind like the glowing sun coming out of the

12. मनुका नगर बसा है सुन्दर सहयोगी है सभी बने। (h. 181)

13. देश-कालका लायव करते वे प्राणी-चंचल से हैं। (h. 182)

14. चिंता करता हूँ मैं जितनी उस प्रतीतकी उस सुखकी; उतनी ही अनंतमें बनती, जाती रेखायें दुखकी। (h. 6)

dark clouds in the west." But his mind follows after its own desires and cares not for Śraddhā.

(iv) काम (Desire) Desire seeks its own selfish end and turns the love that has in it the power of giving happiness to that end.

(v) वासना (Sensual desire) The mind becomes occupied with sensual enjoyment sacrificing Śraddhā to it. At the same time this satisfaction of desire is essential to the creative purpose.

(vi) लज्जा (Modesty, Shyness) In Śraddhā (the love-element) shyness or modesty intervenes after fulfilment.

(vii) क्रम (Action) Śraddhā becomes a medium of enjoyment, and has no thought or care of guidance. The mind wills action towards name and fame. Action is resentful and jealous of Śraddhā which feels compassion for others.

(viii) ईर्ष्या (Jealousy) The mind becomes jealous and desires supremacy and will not have the intervention of Śraddhā (love-element). As it cannot bend the latter to its purpose, in the end it gives up co-operation with it.

(ix) बुद्धि (Creative Wisdom) It now turns for help to Irā. It takes charge of human affairs, but still craves for supremacy, and becomes involved in a conflict of ideals and desires.

(x) स्वप्न (Dream) The love-element (Śraddhā) foresees this struggle of the mind and goes to its aid.

(xi) संघर्ष^(Conflict) The mind must face the consequences of its high ambitions and is overpowered by the evil elements.

(xii) निर्वेद (Renunciation) Śraddhā comes again to help the mind and restores it, but it is unable to absorb the love-element, and shuns action.

(xiii) दृष्टान (Glimpse) But the love-element seeks it in its retreat, and now the mind in its loneliness welcomes Śraddhā. It has had a glimpse or vision of true Bliss or Brahmā from a distance.

(xiv) रहस्य (Mystery) Accompanied by Śraddhā, the mind proceeds along the way to Bliss, and meantime grows in understanding of the mystery of life. Desire, Action and Knowledge are three different directions in which the mind may wander. It cannot attain true happiness unless these three are linked up, and this can only be achieved through love.

(xv) आनन्द (Bliss) In the end love helps the mind to attain¹⁵ the goal of Bliss, where all that is, is fair and full of promise.

Treatment of Nature:- "Prasād" loved Nature's various aspects and chafes against the world being "too much with us". He had looked in his impressionable years on many of its changes, and his pictures of it in Kāmāyanī are apt and accurate. Most of the symbols in the work are from Nature. Under cover of a description some human personality or a mental faculty may be indicated.

To "Prasād" there is no difference between sentient and insentient creation, and to his eyes all changes and happenings in Nature are likewise at the will of God. The world of Nature is but the outward shape of the Almighty. At this stage, "Prasād" becomes mystical. He attributes to Nature sentiment and feeling; it laughs or weeps; it shares one's cares and leads one to think of the better way. For the poet there is one **natural** consciousness pervading all creation. His Nature is preserver and destroyer both

15. क्षरा भर्ते सब परिवर्तित क्षरा, अरा ये विश्व-कमलके;
पिङ्गल पराग ले मन्चले, आनन्द सुधा रस हल्लके।

its elements have gone to the constituting of man. "Prasād" was content to behold its beauty and had no wish to touch or destroy. The following passages will suffice to show him pensive or thrilled as he looked out on it:

(Nature is human)

उसी तपस्वीसे लम्बे, ये देवदारु दो -चार खड़े;
हुये हिम - धवल ७ जैसे पत्थर बनकर ठिठुरे रहे-रहे।

(1.4).

॥ A Morning ॥

हँस पड़ा गगन वह शून्य लोक

जिसके भीतर बस कर उजड़े कितने ही जीवन मरणा शोक
कितने हृदयोंके मधुर मिलन क्रन्दन करते बन विरहकोक
ले लिया भार अपने सिरपर मनुने यह अपना विषम-साज
हँस पड़ी उषा प्राची नभमें देखे नर अपना राजकाज
चल पड़ी देखने वह कौतुक चंचल मलयान्चलकी वह बाला
लख लाली प्रकृति कपोलों में गिरता तारा दल मतवाला
अग्निद्र कमल कानन में होती थी मधुपोंकी नोकभोक
असुधा विस्मृत थी सकल शोक।

(1.171).

Characterisation:- As the theme is short and there is an underlying allegory, the characters are few, and even their descriptions are somewhat symbolic. The author has not painted Manu as a particular person, but as a representative of mankind, and in his behaviour is typified human experience. In the same way, Śraddhā, Irā, Kilāt and Ākuli represent certain human groups. In the allegorical sense they represent various faculties of the mind.

In his account of Śraddhā he has been influenced by the social condition of women in Hindu families. They have been looked on as chattels, but "Prasād" has shown their superiority to men, and the need of their co-operation. A wife is a fellow-traveller in the expedition towards Bliss.

"Prasād" has likened the relation between Śraddhā (woman) and Manu (man) to that of authority and the officer who possesses it, one is the complement of the other:

तुम भूल गये पुरुषत्व मोहमें कुद्व सत्ता है नारी की।
समस्तता है सम्बन्ध बनी अधिकार और अधिकारी की॥

(P. 162)

Diabolic agency has its representation in Kilāt and Ākuli. At first they instigated Manu to sacrifice the animal in Yajna, and later led the revolt against him in the capital of Sārswat. They stand for malevolent elements.

Figures of Speech:- "Prasād" has not used figures of speech to embellish his verses, and so they are few in number and variety. Symbolic language contains in itself a sense of Alākār and sometimes yields a pleasing metaphor. Similes also occur, but their use is

not so apt or so frequent. A few specimens of his figures are given here.

A Metaphor:- (For Manu and Śraddhā)¹⁷ "One was the life-ocean, the other a wavelet in it. If the former was a beautiful morning, the latter was the golden rays (of the sun). One was the sky, whence comes the rain, the other the dark cloud, shining in its rays and the lightning."

A Simile: "Her tender fair body, half-covered by her blue dress, looked as beautiful as if a flower of lightning had come into bloom¹⁸ in the forest of the clouds."

Supernatural Element:- The supernatural elements in Kāmayānī are taken from Hindu mythology and religion. These come from ⁽¹⁾Scriptures such as the Veda, Bṛhmanas and Upaniṣadās, and their development in the ^{ve}dāntism; and (2) Śaivism, which is a later development of Vedāntism.

In the first class is the story of the great deluge which surged over the world after a certain period of time. Then there is the narrative about Manu's being saved from the deluge and again producing a human race. From these also came the accounts of the three spheres of desire, knowledge and action. In the second belong the dance of Śiva (ताण्डव-नृत्य), who himself appears at the end.

17. एक जीवन-सिंधु था, तो वह लहर लघु लोल।
 एक नवल प्रभात, तो वह स्वर्ण किरण प्रमोल।
 एक था प्रकाश वर्षा का सजल जलद उद्गम।
18. दूसरा रंजित किरण से ज्यो-कालेन वन-श्याम ॥ (क. ४)।
 नील परिधान बीच सुकुमार
 खुल रहा मृदुल अधरकुला प्रंगु
 खिला हो ज्यों बिजली का फूल
 मेघ-वन बीच गुलाबी रंग।
 (क. 46) .

Philosophy in Kāṁāyanī:

I समस्तता (Universal consciousness): "Prasād" sees one and the same consciousness underlying all objects in the world and takes it as marking the omnipresence of God.¹⁹ Though he does not include God in the universe, yet he never says that God is separate from it. He takes this view of universal consciousness as developed in the Upaniṣadās. It is found in the dialogue between the father and son in the 6hārṇidogya Upaniṣad:

"Fetch me from thence a fruit of the Nyāgradh tree". "Here is one, sir." "Break it." "It is broken, sir". "What do you see there?" "These seeds almost infinitesimal", "Break one of them." "It is broken, sir." "What do you see there?" "Not anything, sir." The father said, "My son, that subtle essence which you do not perceive there, through that very essence this great Nyāgradh tree exists. Believe it, my son, in that subtle essence all that exists has its self. It is that which is true. It is the self, and thou, o Svetake²⁰tu, art it."

Thus what we perceive around us is this self. When a lump of salt is thrown into the water, it loses its identity, but if any part of the water is tasted, it is still saline, such is this with universal consciousness in its relation to all the diverse forms. This consciousness remains there though the forms may not. Indicating this self, Kṛṣṇa in the Gīta says,²¹ "It is undying all-pervading, existent, immovable and permanent." It is neither born,

19. एक तत्त्वकी ही प्रधानता कहो उसे
जड़ या चेतन। p.3.

20. Indian Philosophy, p.193

21. नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ।

nor dies.

This idea has been rendered by several predecessors of "Prasād". Kabīr expresses it when he says:

"मोदो कहाँ हूँ दो बन्दे भै तो तेरे पासमें॥"

(O man, where are you searching for me? I am beside you.)

Jāyāsī manifests this universal consciousness when he depicts oneness among all things:

आपुहि आपु जो देखै चहा।

आपुनि प्रभुत आपुसे कहा॥

सबै जगत दरपनके लेखा।

आपुहि दरपन आपुहि देखा॥ (Pad.)

Tulsī expresses the same view of the omnipresence of God:

"सियाराम मय सब जग जानी

". But to all these poets the

world seemed permeated by one self, because this belief came to

them through their devotion. They all took the idea from the

Upaniṣadās, but they adapted it to their particular beliefs for

Kabīrpanth, Sūfism and Vaiṣṇavism. It was in Kamāyanī first of

all that Hindi had the scientific presentation of this old Hindu

ideal. "Prasād" applied this idea of universal consciousness in

two cases, first, to show the equality of joy and sorrow and,

secondly, to demonstrate the equality of man and woman and the

latter's importance in life.

(1) सुख-दुख (Joy and Sorrow) To him these are two different

22

shapes of one and the same thing. It is only because of ignorance

22. दुखकी पिछली रजनी बीच बिकसता सुखका नवल प्रभातः

एक परदा यह भीना नील दिपाये है जिसमें सुख गाता॥

(1-53)

that they are not seen in their true prospective. Joy comes out of sorrow. Both are there, and "there is neither good nor bad but thinking makes it so." To achieve pleasure, man must make others' lives happy.²³ That smile is not an indication of happiness which brings tears into others' eyes.

This idea of joy and sorrow is true universally and it depends on this principle that "Being" is the same in everyone. And this universal consciousness led a great saint to say, "So long as one person remains in prison, I am not free."

(2) पुरुष-स्त्री (Man and Woman) It only remains to say that woman is the "guru" or guide who directs man to the goal of Bliss.

II Influence of Buddhism. Buddhism has influenced "Prasād" greatly. Its philosophy of Ahimsā and a ministry of service to all beings captivated his heart. He had a good chance of understanding this philosophy in the course of collecting materials for his works. In his dramas Buddhist characters play an important part. The Upaniṣadās also showed these elements, but the Buddha and his followers were probably the first to put them into practice. Śaivism:- "Prasād" belonged to a family in which Śiva was worshipped as the main deity, as he was in the city of Benares where the poet lived. Tulsī was devoted to ²⁴ ~~Ram~~, but he showed Śiva equals with him. In Kamāyanī Śiva was regarded as the chief of the gods.

23. प्रीति की हंसे देखो अनु हंसो प्रीति
सुख जान्यो। (p.132)

24. शंकर जगत-बंध जगदीश्वर।
सुर-नर मुनि सब नावत सोभा॥
(B.L. MS. D. 62).

"Prasād" takes the conception of Śaivism as later developed in "Śaṅkaras" Vedānta. The main point of difference lies in the unification of consciousness and māyā, which together constitute one reality. Śiva is here mentioned as the director of all action, and the great deluge was to the poet merely the "Tāṇḍav" dance of Śiva and in the last chapter Manu sees Śiva on mount Kailās and there realises true Bliss.

Allegory in Kāmāyanī:- "Prasād" followed ancient cosmology in his process of creation after the deluge. The imperishable natural elements survived the deluge and then came puruṣa (intelligence) in the form of Manu, and prakṛt or Śraddhā came, making with Manu, the procreative agents. Next entered Kāma, implanting sensual desire, and a human world evolved.

It has now been shown how the self-conscious individual gradually emerged, and how he was sensitive to the disastrous effects of the deluge. This individual and his criticism of his surroundings can only be presented symbolically in the form of a cult of language and imagery, since experience is merely a synthetic symbolism. Reality and the objects of Nature are different things. Mental life is not based on sight of reality, but on its symbolic reflections. Further, the concepts of myths are more symbolic than objective scientific facts, and allegory was best suited to its expression. The factual explanation of the process described in Kāmāyanī in an abstract and metaphorical fashion is found in the gradual detachment of the individual consciousness from the universal.

Mystery (रहस्य) :- In his chapter on रहस्य the poet deals²⁵ with the three themes of desire, self-consciousness and action; they merge into one due to Śraddhā (the love-element or devotion), and in this lies the solution of human tribulation. Unless action goes with self-consciousness and desire, man cannot be happy. Love (Śraddhā) is the guide to Bliss.

As an Epic:- Kāmāyāni can claim to be an epic since it satisfies the conditions as to canto-divisions, an heroic character as central figure in a continuous story, with scenes based on life and Nature.

25- See Indian Idealism by Dās Gupta.

VII. C O N C L U S I O N .

The stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were not alone in assuming epic form in Sanskrit; Buddhists and Jain^as too celebrated their leaders in this way. Āśvaghoṣa, one of the most eminent poets of Sanskrit, wrote the Buddha-Carita, the first epic on the founder of his faith. Dīpavaṃśa and Mahāvaṃśa are others on the same theme. Of the Jainas the poet Harivaṃśa composed Dharm ---- narrating the story of Dharmmath, and later Hemendra wrote his Rāmāyana.

The great epics of Sanskrit stirred translators and new imitators in several vernaculars, and Hindi surpassed all of them, giving the story of the heroic god-man to its readers.

The epic has been traced back to its origin in ballads and songs. Many of them have a history of change and adaptation from the wild, savage time of their first composition, and some grew more artistic the further they moved from that time and its scene. They formed a basic material out of which some bard greater than his fellows drew an heroic theme that thrilled the listener, or a playwright the subject of a drama and a model of his colloquies. This material lent itself to, or was made by the genius of the bard to yield, a peroration of the valiant, superhuman deeds of a man mighty in warfare, chivalrous, and virtuous according to the standard of manliness of his age, or else a long narrative in heroic measure of the tribe or nation led to greatness. The former

is the class of the heroic epic, typified in the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki, or the Prithirāj-Rāso; the second that of the national, of which the Mahābhārata and the Shāhnāmā of Firdausi are pre-eminent examples.

Further a purpose or epic intention must inform the material. The epic-writer aims at rousing national or sectarian emotion in response to that he feels in himself, whether of pride, or patriotism, or religious. It is not essential to his cause that he should restrain imagination from inventiveness or from heightening the colour. Rustam for instance is estimated according to figures in the Shāhnāmā, to have lived heroically for about three thousand years. An interpolator did not feel himself violating any conscience-clause if he added a line or even a story in the framework of the poem.

Heroic epochs are likely to recur in the history of progressive nations, but a poet of sufficient genius may not appear to perpetuate their memory in a long-sustained poem. And it must also be remembered that time brings changes to such activities; the capacity for great action may be present, but opportunity for its exercise is dispersed over a large number; the individual has now a wide rivalry. And also the tempo of life in such states has changed to one much faster, and there are fewer with leisure or inclination to undertake the effort of

long-sustained poetic appreciation.

Prof. L. Abercrombie thinks that "after Milton there is likely to be nothing more done with objective epic"^{1.} Since Milton the only English epic of note has been Hardy's Dynasts,² but in it epic purpose has invaded dramatic manner. Prof. L. Abercrombie shrewdly suggested that "nowadays there may be a more subjective symbolism." This anticipation has been fulfilled in Kāmāyanī. In India there have been in recent years both epics and plays written with a nationalistic background; in these epics there have been both epic manner and epic intention. Kāmāyanī stands out pre-eminent for its author's story of the development of the human mind and his symbolic treatment of the mythological Manu.

1. The Epic. p. 84 .

2. ibid. p. 84.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

<u>No.</u>	<u>AuthorS.</u>	<u>WorkS.</u>
1.	Abercrombie. (L.)	<u>The Epic.</u>
2.	Arberry. (J.)	<u>Introduction to the History of Sūfism.</u>
3.	Barnett. (L.D.)	<u>Antiquities of India.</u>
4.	Bhagwān Dīn. (Lālā)	<u>Intro. to Keśav Kaumudī.</u>
5.	Browne. (Prof.)	<u>Literary History of Persia.</u>
6.	Caland.	<u>Kaṇviya-Śapath-Brāhmaṇ.</u>
7.	Chadwick. (Prof.)	<u>The Growth of Literature.</u>
8.	Daṇḍin.	<u>Kāvyādarśa.</u>
9.	Dās Gupta.	<u>Indian Idealism.</u>
10.	Dutt. (M.N.)	<u>Trans. of Mahābhārata.</u>
11.	Dutt. "	<u>Ancient Hindu Civilization.</u>
12.	Grierson. (G.)	<u>Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān.</u>
13.	" "	<u>A Paper read before R.A.S. on March 10th, 1903.</u>
14.	" "	<u>Tulsī Dās, a poet and a Religious Reformer.</u>
15.	Growse.	<u>Trans. of Rām-Carit-Mānas. (6th.ed.)</u>
16.	Gupta. (M.S.)	<u>Sāketa.</u>
17.	" "	<u>Yasodharā.</u>
18.	'Hariaudh'. (A.S.)	<u>Priyapravās.</u>
19.	Hearenschaw. (Prof.)	<u>Indian Mythical Legend.</u>
20.	Hoernle.	<u>Trans. of Rāso. Pt.II.</u>
21.	Hudson. (W.H.)	<u>The Study of Literature.</u>
22.	Iqbal. (Sir.Md.)	<u>Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.</u>

<u>No.</u>	<u>Authors</u>	<u>Works.</u>
23.	Jāyasī. (M.M.)	<u>Padumāvati.</u> (ed.R.C.Sukla)
24.	Jagga [~] nāth. (P.)	<u>Rasgaṅgādhara.</u>
25.	Macfie.	<u>The Rāmāyana of Tulsī Dās.</u>
26.	Madan. (I.N.)	<u>Modern Hindi Literature.</u>
27.	Max ^M Müller.	<u>Rgveda.</u>
28.	Misrabāndhūs.	<u>Hindi-Navratn.</u>
29.	Muir's.	<u>Sanskrit Texts. Vol.IV.</u>
30.	Munshi. (K.M.)	<u>Guj^arāt and Its Literature.</u>
31.	Nicholson. (R.A.)	<u>Mystics of Islām.</u>
32.	Orr, (W.G.)	<u>A Sixteenth Century Mystic.</u>
33.	'Pant', (S.N.)	<u>Gunjan.</u>
34.	Pargiter.	<u>Ancient Indian Historical Traditions.</u>
35.	'Prasād'. (J.S.)	<u>Kāmāyanī.</u>
36.	" "	<u>Chandra-Gupta.</u>
37.	" "	<u>Skand-Gupta.</u>
38.	Rādhākriṣṇan. (S.)	<u>Indian Philosophy.</u>
39.	Raverty's.	<u>Trans. of Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri.</u>
40.	Sen. (D.C.)	<u>Bengali Rāmāyanās.</u>
41.	Siddhānta. (Prof.)	<u>The Heroic Age of India.</u>
42.	Śukla. (R.C.)	<u>Hindi Sahityakā Itihās.</u>
43.	" "	<u>Kāvya-men-Rahasyavād.</u>
44.	Syam-Sundar Das. "	<u>Goswāmī Tulsī Dās.</u>
45.	Sūr Dās.	<u>Sūr-Sāgar.</u> (N.P. ed.)
46.	Suryakānt Tripāthī.	<u>Hindi-Sāhitya^k-Ruprekha.</u>

<u>No .</u>	<u>Author's</u>	<u>Work's</u>
47.	Śyāmsundar Dās.	<u>Goswāmī Tulsī Dās.</u>
48.	" "	<u>Hindi-Bhāṣā-aur-Sāhitya.</u>
49.	Tennyson.	<u>Tennyson's Works. (1880)</u>
50.	Tessitori. (L.P.)	<u>Intr. to Vagānicā.</u>
51.	" "	" " <u>Vell.</u>
52.	Tulsī Dās.	<u>Rām-Carit-Mānas</u> (Gutākā by R. Bhaṭṭa.)
53.	" "	<u>Dohāvalī.</u>
54.	Vālmiki.	<u>Rāmāyaṇa.</u>
55.	Varmā. (R.)	<u>Kabīr-kā-Rahasyavād.</u>
56.	Viśwanath. (Kavirāj)	<u>Sāhitya-Dāṇa.</u>
57.	Winternitz.	<u>Some Problems of Indian Literature.</u>
58.	Whittaker.	<u>The Beginning and End of the World.</u>
59.	Yazdānī. (Ghulām)	<u>Introduction to Bīdar. (1948)</u>

MISCELLANEOUS.

60.	<u>Atharva-Saṁhitā.</u>
61.	<u>Black - Yajurveda.</u>
62.	<u>Daśarath - Jātak.</u>
63.	<u>Dhwanyālok.</u>
64.	<u>Encyclopaedia Britannica.</u>
65.	<u>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.</u>
66.	<u>The Gītā.</u>
67.	<u>Ishapaniṣad.</u>

MISCELLANEOUS. (contd)

68. Kādambarī.
69. Kośotsav-Smāarak-Granth.
70. Prithīrāj-Rāso. (N.P. ed.)

JOURNALS. *etc.*

71. J.R.A.S. 1873.
72. Proc. of A.S.B. 1893. No.4.
73. J.R.A.S. 1906, Vol.138,41.
74. J.R.A.S. 1913. pp.133-41.
75. J.R.A.S. April, 1915.
76. Desmond MacCarthy in Daily Telegraph. 30.11.47.
77. " " " Sunday Times, 10th Oct.,1948.

N.B. I have benefitted from the various Mss. of Prithīrāj-Rāso as preserved in Tod's collection of R.A.S. Library. Some Mss. of Padumāvati and Rām-Candrikā ^{in C.W.R. library} helped me in ascertaining the language of these works,